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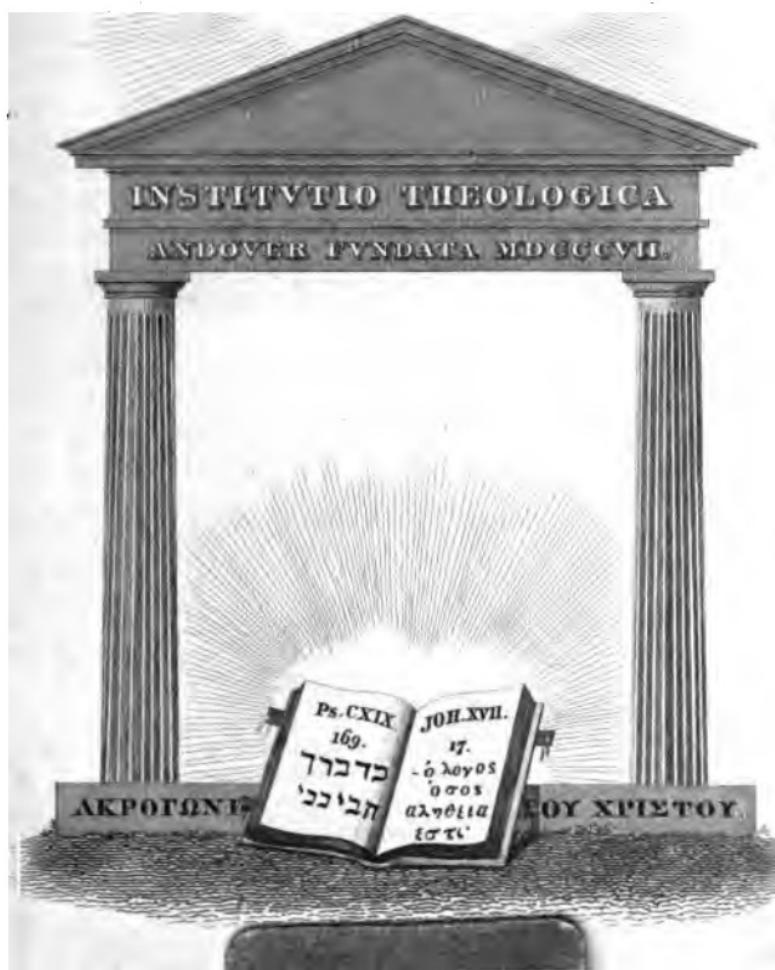
Isaiah

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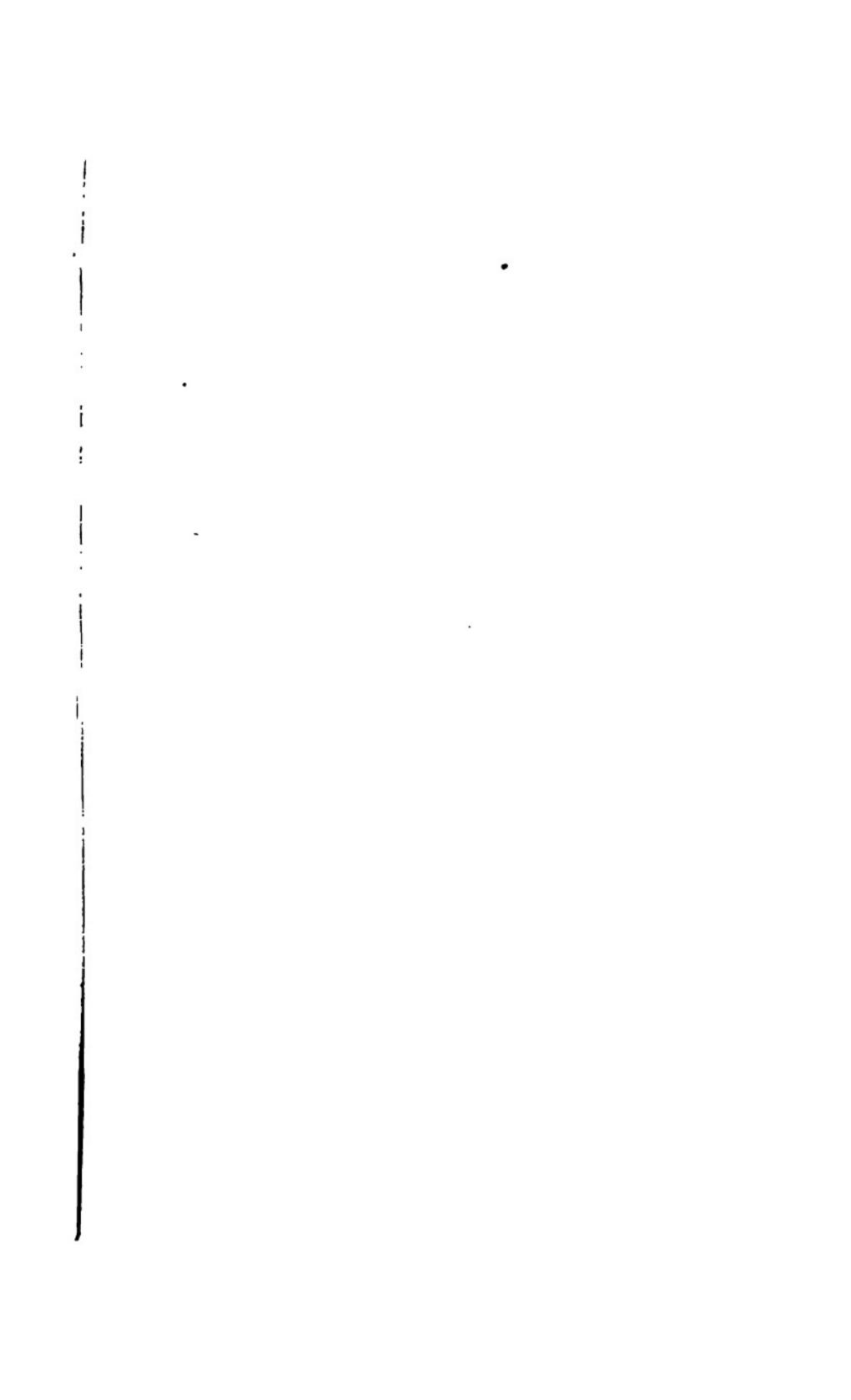
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I — XXXIX

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Isaiah

I—XXXIX

INTRODUCTION
REVISED VERSION WITH NOTES
INDEX AND MAPS

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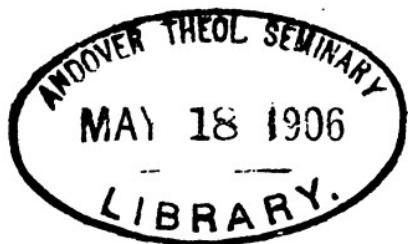
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**THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET
ISAIAH
INTRODUCTION**

THE PROPHECIES OF ISAIAH

INTRODUCTION.

§. I. THE PERIOD OF ISAIAH'S ACTIVITY.

THE eighth century B.C. was the period of the greatest external and internal change that Israel had witnessed since the people had settled within the borders of Canaan. It is true that the latter half of the preceding century (the ninth) had brought great humiliations upon Israel at the hands of his energetic northern rival Syria (called Aram by the Semites). This northern kingdom had been previously held in check by the powerful dynasty of Omri, as well as by the reawakened military power of Assyria under Shalmaneser II in 854 B.C. But it cannot be asserted that Syria was in any true sense a factor of permanent military importance. Like Israel, it was only able to make a considerable impression on surrounding kingdoms so long as Assyria remained dormant. Thus when Rammān-nirāri III¹, towards the close of the ninth century, revived the military power of Assyria, he inflicted an overwhelming defeat on Aram (Syria) from which it never fully recovered (circ. 803 B.C.). He is, in fact, the 'deliverer' of King Jehoahaz from Hazael to which 2 Kings xiii. 5 refers. Assyria, however, after this brief period of revived energy, subsided into another period of military quiescence.

¹ The name is read by Winckler (*KAT.*³, p. 46) Adad-nirari. The cuneiform sign with the syllabic value *im* may be read, as an ideogram, either as Rammān, Bir, or Hadad (Adad). See Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke*³, Schrifttafel, No. 225.

During this interval of temporary decline of Assyrian power, covering the earlier half of the eighth century, both Israel under Jeroboam II and Judah under Uzziah (Azariah) grew in strength and importance. The confines of the former were considerably extended (2 Kings xiv. 25, 28) towards the north, while in the south Jeroboam's contemporary, Uzziah, greatly strengthened Judah's military position. This we learn from the accounts preserved in 'Chronicles,' which may be regarded as in the main trustworthy so far as the political administration is concerned¹. But this extension of influence was after all a mushroom growth, and any revival of Assyrian power on the Tigris threatened it with speedy destruction. This revival came in the latter part of the eighth century under Tiglath-Pileser III (745-727), called by the Babylonians Pūlu (whence the Pul of Scripture, an alternative name of this king, 2 Kings xv. 19, cf. verse 29 and chap. xvi. 7). The advent of this new Assyrian monarch to the throne brought with it an epoch-making change in the history of Israel both internal and external. Tiglath-Pileser (in Assyr. *Tuklat-abal-išarra*) was succeeded after the short reign of Shalmaneser IV (Assyr. *Šulmanu-ašaridu*) by Sargon II (*Šarru-kinu*), who reigned from 722 to 705 B.C.²; and Sennacherib, who succeeded in 705 B.C., continued the policy of military conquest inaugurated by Tiglath-Pileser. In fact, from the accession of Tiglath-Pileser till the close of the reign of Ašurbanipal, in the middle of the following century, Assyria continued its victorious course as an aggressive military state. At the close of the eighth century the Assyrian empire extended to the Persian Gulf and the shores of the Araxes on the east; and to Edom, Gaza,

¹ For further details see the author's article 'Uzziah' in Hastings' *DB*.

² These dates are absolutely assured on the ground of the official lists of Assyrian eponyms. See Appendix I at the end of this Introduction.

Cyprus and Cilicia on the west. In the reign of Ašurbanipal it extended its confines to Elam on the east and to Egypt on the west¹. Then it suddenly declined through internal exhaustion, and was supplanted by the new Babylonian empire, which in its turn rapidly succumbed, in less than a century from its rise, to the arms of the Persian Cyrus (538 B.C.).

During the period of Assyrian domination with which we are now more immediately concerned, there was only one power which was in any degree able to oppose this advancing tide of conquest, namely Egypt. Egypt on the one side, and Babylonia or Assyria on the other, might be called the two 'great powers' of Western Asian politics during the millennium which intervened between the time of Thothmes III and that of Pharaoh Hophra (1600-570 B.C.). Both the empire on the Nile and that on the Euphrates possessed a civilization of vast antiquity. Babylonia has clay documents either still reposing in its 'tells' (i.e. mounds of ruins), or scattered among the museums of Europe and America, which reach back to the fifth millennium B.C. Egypt has monuments whose antiquity is almost as remote.

But in the middle of the eighth century, when Isaiah lived, the twenty-fourth dynasty was reigning in Egypt, and her military power was weak through internal divisions and therefore unable to resist the progress of the Assyrian arms. It was not till the close of the century, about 708 B.C.², when the twenty-fifth dynasty, which was Ethiopian, succeeded, that fresh energy was infused into Egypt's foreign policy. In the seventh century King Taharqo (or Tirhaqah) was able to confront the Assyrian colossus and inspire the Palestinian princes,

¹ See the useful coloured map appended to Schrader's *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. ii.

² This is the date given by Max Müller, followed by most recent historians, as compared with that of earlier authorities who placed the advent of the twenty-fifth dynasty about 730 B.C.

who had had bitter experience of Egypt's weakness and procrastination, with stronger and better-founded hopes of maintaining their independence (691 B.C.).

For it must be remembered that all the princes of the Palestinian borders, from Tyre in the north to Moab and Judah in the south, played quite a subordinate part in this conflict of races and rulers. Menaḥem, Hoshea, Ahaz, and Hezekiah sustained the ignoble rôle of dependent or even vassal kings, seeking to curry favour either with the Assyrian or Egyptian monarch, just as the expediency of the moment dictated. Probably no other rôle was possible for princes whose tenure of authority was brief and precarious, subject to the good pleasure of one or other of these two great powers, while the domain of any one of these princes hardly exceeded in size that of the largest among the English counties. Hoshea was but a puppet placed on the throne of Samaria by Tiglath-Pileser, and did his best to please Assyria and Egypt at the same time or by turns (*Hos.* v. 13, vii. 11, xi. 1).

Thus the position held by even the most powerful of the Palestinian kings somewhat resembled that of the Amir of Afghanistan, graphically described by the late Lord Lytton as 'an earthen pipkin between two iron pots,' viz. the English power in India on the one side and the Russian in Central Asia on the other. And the analogy holds yet further. Palestine possessed as great a strategic importance *then* as Afghanistan holds now. Palestine was the only well-watered and therefore practical highway and caravan track between north or north-east and south or south-west. Now Egypt was invulnerable upon the eastern border save along the very narrow frontier now traversed by the Suez Canal and protected in ancient times by a series of fortresses. It could therefore only be attacked by the northern power, Assyria, by way of Palestine. For in those days the sea was deemed a treacherous element, and the Phoenicians were the only maritime race whose vessels were at the

service of a foreign power¹. Therefore, against Egypt, Palestine furnished the natural route for the advance of the Assyrian army.

Thus Egypt could only remain secure against Assyrian invasion when such towns as Lachish, Ashkelon, Jerusalem, Gaza, Ekron, Ashdod, and Samaria were not under the control of Assyria, and their rulers were friendly to the Egyptian power. Accordingly Palestine possessed an unrivalled strategic importance in Western Asia (see article 'War' in *Enc. Bibl.* § 1). The possession of such a land was coveted by the north-eastern or Assyrian power in Western Asia and by Egypt in North-Eastern Africa, not only because its soil was fertile (Gen. xiii. 10, xlix. 11 foll., 20, 22, 25 foll.; Exod. iii. 17; Num. xiii. 23, 27; Deut. i. 25, viii. 7, &c.), but also because it had considerable military value.

The prophetic ministry of Isaiah nearly covers the latter half of the eighth century, the period of Assyrian military enterprise and aggrandisement to which we referred on a previous page. The shocks of collision between the Assyrian power and the western states and kingdoms, Syrian and Palestinian, which had begun in the northern or Syrian region under Shalmaneser II and Rammān-nirāri III in the preceding century, were continued with greater vigour and persistence under Tiglath-Pileser III and his successors. The expeditions of the Assyrian armies were now carried further to the south. Not only the northern kingdom of Israel, but also the southern kingdom, as well as the Philistine towns, were compelled to feel the heavy hand of the conqueror, until nearly all these states and kingdoms, from the Hittites in the north to the Hebrews and Philistines in the south, were pounded to fragments by the successive blows of Assyrian attack. To most of these in succession Assyria

¹ We know from the monuments that Sennacherib made use of Phoenician vessels, just as Xerxes did in the fifth century in his wars against the Hellenes.

became the 'mace of Divine wrath' (Isa. x. 5). Their lands were ravaged, their cities destroyed, and their populations deported to the east, no unfamiliar spectacle in ancient Semitic, and more especially in Assyrian, warfare.

We shall presently notice the profound influence which these events produced on Isaiah's mind and on those of the earlier and contemporary prophets, Amos, Hosea, and Micah. The Divine significance of these events is duly set forth and interpreted in their oracles recorded in the O. T. In order that the oracles of Isaiah may be better understood and appreciated, it will be necessary to trace in further detail (1) the external events in the politics of Western Asia and Israel in their mutual interrelations, (2) the internal social and religious condition of Israel during the latter half of the eighth century.

§ 2. EXTERNAL HISTORY OF WESTERN ASIA AND ISRAEL IN THEIR MUTUAL INTERRELATIONS 750-700 B.C.

Fortunately we possess ampler materials for the exposition of our subject than biblical scholars possessed more than sixty years ago, when Ewald and Delitzsch¹ in Germany and Henderson in England were writing their commentaries on the prophets. The monuments and tablets inscribed with cuneiform signs which have been discovered by Botta, Layard, and Rassam at Kujundshik, Khorsabad, and Nimrûd between 1840 and 1854, now stored in the Louvre and British Museum, have been read, interpreted, and explained by a succession of scholars, and have shed a flood of welcome light on the age in which Isaiah lived and worked². We are therefore now in a far

¹ Prof. Franz Delitzsch, the veteran Evangelical Professor of Leipzig, lived to perfect his work. Thus in the 3rd edition of his commentary on Isaiah (in German, 1879), and still more in the 4th (1889), the results of Assyriology communicated by his distinguished son, Prof. Friedrich Delitzsch, were incorporated.

² All the annals of Assyrian kings relating to this period will be found transcribed from the cuneiform and translated

better position to understand the oracles of Isaiah and his contemporary prophets than was possible half a century ago.

The tablets recording the campaigns of Tiglath-Pileser III have unfortunately been grievously mutilated. They were used as building material by a later Assyrian monarch, Esar-haddon, who reigned in the following century. These tablets of his predecessor, Tiglath-Pileser, he removed from that monarch's palace on the south-east platform of Nimrud (the ancient Kalah), 'caused the inscriptions with which they were covered to be partially chiselled away, and employed the plates themselves in building his own south-west palace¹.' Notwithstanding these defects it is possible to obtain a fairly distinct impression of the military expeditions of this great warrior in the western regions and in something approximating chronological order, with the aid of the 'eponym lists' and 'tables of rulers²'.

Tiglath-Pileser's operations in the west began about 742 B.C. In 740 he captured Arpad after a two years' siege and made Rezin of Damascus (called in the inscriptions Rašunnu) and Hiram, King of Tyre, tributary. In the year 738 he conquered a certain Azrijau (Azariah) King of Jaudi, who was the head of a coalition of nineteen northern states against the Assyrian king. It was formerly supposed with much apparent probability that this king was Uzziah (who was also called Azariah) of Judah, and this view was sustained by the great authority of Professor Schrader³, but, since Dr. Schrader's arguments were published, the important discovery of the Senjirli

in Schrader's *Keilinschrifliche Bibliothek (KIB.)*, vol. ii. pp. 1-119, an invaluable storehouse of *contemporary* illustrative material.

¹ Schrader, *COT*, i. p. 234.

² *COT*, vol. ii. pp. 178 foll., cf. p. 168 foll. The name of the monarch called in *COT* Tiglath-Pileser II is now designated as Tiglath-Pileser III.

³ *COT*, vol. i. p. 208 foll.

inscriptions has revealed the existence of a northern land called Jādi (or Jaudi), where a language much resembling Hebrew was spoken. The close contiguity of this country to the nineteen districts mentioned in the mutilated inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser renders it far more probable that this is the land whose king is meant rather than that of so distant a country as Judah¹. The effect of this discovery has been to place the death-year of Uzziah (Isa. vi. 1) earlier in the difficult chronology of this period. This tends in a certain degree to simplify its problems.

In the year 738 the pressure exercised by the Assyrian power upon the northern states, including Tyre, began to be felt in Israel. Menahem followed the ignoble precedent set by Jehu just one century earlier at the opening of his reign² (842 B.C.), and purchased exemption from molestation by paying the enormous tribute of 1,000 silver talents, or about £400,000 (2 Kings xv. 19, 20). To this Tiglath-Pileser III makes reference in his annals, which thereby confirms the statement of Scripture (*COT*, i. p. 215; *KIB*, ii. p. 30). Hiram (Hirumu) King of Tyre and Rezin of Damascus are mentioned as tributaries in the same list. This pusillanimous policy of Menahem was followed by his son Pekahiah, and cost him his life. An insurrectionary movement, headed by Pekah, was directed against this abject vassallage to Assyria, and Pekahiah became its victim. We cannot but sympathize with the patriotic energy of Pekah, who endeavoured to put an end to a policy which was as fatal as it was timid. Not much is said about him in the narrative of 2 Kings, and what is said is of an unfavourable character, since the moral

¹ These arguments against the earlier view were first brought forward by Dr. Hugo Winckler in a masterly essay in his *Alttestamentliche Forschungen*, i. (1893), pp. 1-23. For further details see the article 'Uzziah' by the present writer in Hastings' *DB*.

² No reference is made to this in Scripture, but the fact is definitely recorded in the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser II.

estimates about Israelite kings are all conceived from the standpoint of the later Deuteronomic legalism which marked the close of the seventh century. This legislation regarded Jerusalem as the only lawful place of worship and the High Places as contrary to God's enactment. In 2 Kings xv. 37, xvi. 5 we read that Pekah formed an alliance with Rezin of Damascus. The reason for this step is perfectly clear and intelligible, and shows sound statesmanship. If a strong confederacy of Palestinian states could have been organized against Assyrian aggression it is quite possible that the untoward events of the following years might have been averted. Such a strong combination was all the more needed, because Egypt at that time (under the twenty-fourth dynasty) was disunited and weak, and the Palestinian kingdoms and states were consequently obliged to depend on their own resources in confronting Assyrian aggression. Philistia appears to have joined the 'Bund,' and possibly Edom; but Jotham and his successor Ahaz refused to join the confederacy. The biblical record is silent respecting the causes or motives which led up to the Syro-Ephraimite war, but some such series of circumstances and political considerations must have co-operated in bringing about this coalition against the kingdom of Judah. The political conditions were analogous to those which led up to the coalition of Ahab and Ben-hadad (Hadadezer) King of Syria against Shalmaneser II, which terminated in the disastrous battle of Karkar (854 B.C.)¹ and issued in a war between the allies in which Ahab lost his life at Ramoth-Gilead. Here again the data of the cuneiform inscriptions enable us to supply the missing links of historical causation that render the sequence of recorded events in the biblical narrative more intelligible.

¹ See Hastings' *DB*. article 'Ahab' and Schrader's *COT.*, i. pp. 183-90, where the monolith inscription of Shalmaneser II is cited and interpreted. A more correct version will be found complete in Schrader's *KIB.*, i. pp. 151-74.

Jotham and his successor Ahaz had fallen under the spell of this evil tradition of national policy, inaugurated by Jehu and continued by Menahem, compliance with Assyria. We find a decisive indication of this in the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser. In a list of vassal princes who paid tribute to Tiglath-Pileser about this time, inscribed on a clay tablet (ii. Rawl. 67, line 61), we find mention of Mitinti of Ashkelon, Joahaz of Judah¹, and Kosmelech of Edom. Joahaz is evidently the longer form of Ahaz, in which the prefix, a shorter form for the name of the deity Jahu (for Yahweh) or Jah (cf. Ahaziah), was omitted by the Jews in later days on account of the notorious idolatry of the king who bore the sacred name of their God (2 Kings xvi. 10-18). This identification is, moreover, rendered absolutely certain by the geographical contiguity of Philistia (Ashkelon) on the one side, and of Edom on the other².

Ahaz evidently had a secret understanding with Tiglath-Pileser, or was meditating such a policy at the moment when the prophet Isaiah met him at the conduit of the upper pool (chap. vii). This enables us to understand the underlying reserve with which he met the prophet's admonitions. Probably Tiglath-Pileser had been already informed by secret messengers of the serious predicament in which the King of Judah found himself. It is even possible that the king's royal as well as temple treasures had been already despoiled in the payment of tribute to the Assyrian king (2 Kings xvi. 8 foll.). From the statements of Scripture we gather that the message to Tiglath-Pileser produced an immediate effect. The arms of Assyria were turned upon the adversaries of Ahaz. Tiglath-Pileser was the 'Saviour' of Ahaz in precisely the same way as Rammân-nirâri III had been to Jeho-

¹ In the original: Ja-u-ha-zi (*mâtu*) Ja-u-da-ai. With this statement in the clay document cf. 2 Kings xvi. 8 foll.

² COT., i. p. 258 foll.; KIB., ii. p. 20.

haz at the close of the preceding century (2 Kings xiii. 5; cf. § 1).

It is by no means clear what was the precise sequence of Tiglath-Pileser's operations in these years 734-732 B.C. If we follow the indications given in one of the eponym lists, viz. the List of Governors, which places a campaign against Philistia in 734 B.C., we may be following the true chronological order¹. In the following years Tiglath-Pileser turned his arms against Rezin of Damascus. This may have been the actual course of events, and it seems to be definitely suggested by the List of Governors. It is difficult, however, to understand how operations against Philistia, in which Israel must be included, could have been securely undertaken while Rezin of Damascus, a powerful, unvanquished adversary, was strongly posted in the rear, for the most practicable route for attacking Southern Palestine lay through Syria². The exact order of events must remain obscure for the present, since the Assyrian documents are so fragmentary and mutilated. We gather, however, that Gaza was one of the chief objects of Assyrian attack, since it was the chief Philistine ally of Rezin. On the approach of Tiglath-Pileser's armies its king, Hanno (*Hanunu*), fled to North Arabia near Edom, a region which the recent researches of Glaser, Hommel, and Winckler have enabled us to identify. It is the land Muṣri (or *Musrān*), a region

¹ The succession of events recorded is as follows (cf. *COT.*, ii. p. 194 foll.):—

734. Bēl-dan-ilu of Kalah . . . to the land Pilista (Philistia).

733. Asur-danin-ani of Mazamua . . . to the land Damascus.

732. Nabū-bel-usur of Si'mē . . . to the land Damascus.

² See Winckler in Schrader, *KAT.*³, p. 56 foll. and footnote 4. It may be true, as Winckler suggests, that Rezin avoided a collision with Tiglath-Pileser. Moreover, it may have been owing to the despairing and urgent appeal of Ahaz that the Assyrian king directed his forces at once to Palestine for his relief. It is quite possible that Rezin detached some portion of his forces for the defence of his allies in Philistia and Northern Israel.

frequently confused with Egypt in the biblical records. In the same year, and probably before these operations were undertaken against Hanno, Tiglath-Pileser invaded the northern kingdom of Israel ruled by Pekah. The passage in which these military achievements are recorded is sadly mutilated, especially in the portion that relates to Israel¹, which reads in translation thus: 'The town Gil[ead] . . . Abel [Maacha] which are above the land Beth Omri (Samaria) . . . the broad I turned in its en[tire extent] into the territory of Assyria and placed my [officers] as viceroys over them.' Further on in the same inscription (lines 28 foll.) we read: 'The land Beth-Omri the whole of its inhabitants together with their property I deported to Assyria, Pekah their king I slew, Hoshea (Ausi) I appointed to rule over them.' The once prosperous and powerful kingdom of Northern Israel was thus shorn of the northern frontier districts of Zebulon, Asher, and Naphtali², while the eastern transjordanic territories were also taken away. Moreover, the inhabitants of these border provinces were deported to Assyria, while Assyrian inhabitants were brought over as settlers to take their place, in accordance with a practice which the Assyrians frequently adopted in conquered territories³.

These events of the years 734-2 B.C. seem to have produced an indelible impression on the mind of Isaiah. He may indeed have beheld with his own eyes those advancing hosts of Assyrian warriors, whom the inhabitants of Canaan now beheld for the first time and were destined to behold again not once nor twice before the century closed. We refer to the vivid description contained in Isa. v. 26-30, probably composed some eight years later.

¹ iii. Rawl. 10. 2, lines 17 foll.; Schrader, *KIB.*, ii. p. 30 foll.

² Respecting the towns of Iyyôn, Abel beth Ma'achah, &c., mentioned in 2 Kings xv. 29, see Hastings' *DB.* *sub voce* Pekah, p. 737 footnote.

³ To this the Assyrian inscriptions bear witness, Schrader, *COT.*, p. 268 foll.

'Behold, hastily, swiftly he cometh. There is none that is weary or stumbleth. He stumbleth not nor sleepeth. The girdle of his loins is never loosed, nor the thong of his sandals rent—whose arrows are sharp, and all his bows bent, whose horses' hoofs are accounted as flint, and his wheels like a whirlwind. His roar is like that of a lioness ; he roareth like the young lions, moaning and catching the prey, and carrying it off safe, and there is none to rescue. And at that time there is moaning over it like the moaning of the sea ; and if we look to the earth, behold oppressive darkness !'

This catastrophe was evidently foreseen by the prophet in the earlier days when Ahaz was not yet rid of his foes. In chap. viii. 7 foll., which may probably be dated 734 B.C., he compares the Assyrian invasion to an overwhelming flood :

'Behold, Yahweh bringeth up against them [i.e. Judah's enemies Syria and Ephraim] the waters of the river [i.e. the Euphrates], mighty and full, and it shall mount up over all its channels, and go over all its banks, and pass along into Judah streaming and flowing over, reaching up to the neck.'

The last phase in this prophecy, viz. the flood at length sweeping over Judah, did not attain fulfilment till the close of the century, thirty years afterwards.

From the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser quoted above we learn that Pekah was slain and Hoshea was placed as the nominee of Assyria on the throne of Samaria. Thus another Israelite king disappears 'like a chip on the water's surface' (Hos. x. 7). During the years that followed (733 and 732 B.C.) Syria, now bereft of allies and isolated, felt the heavy hand of Assyria, and Rezin suffered the same fate as his Ephraimite contemporary Pekah.

Tiglath-Pileser died in 727 B.C. During his lifetime King Hoshea regularly paid tribute as faithful nominee and vassal king to his suzerain ; but after 727 B.C. a change of policy ensued. The accession of the new

monarch Shalmaneser IV (*Sulmānu-āśaridu* in the Assyrian form of this name) seemed to open up the prospect of a breathing space for the Palestinian kingdoms. Probably there was a strong party in Samaria which endeavoured to force Hoshea's hand into an active policy of resistance to Assyria, like that of Pekah, for which the opportunity seemed to be favourable. Meanwhile Hoshea's contemporary Ahaz had good reason to be grateful to Assyria for the timely succour rendered in his time of need, and found it to be to his interest to remain an obedient vassal under the aegis of his powerful patron's protection against future attacks from his former foes. But while Judah played this safe but ignoble rôle of subservience, his more enterprising neighbour, now (726 B.C.) that Assyria's great warrior-king was dead, began to adopt a new policy. Ephraim was now beginning to recover from the disasters which overtook Northern Israel from the arms of Tiglath-Pileser eight years previously. Isaiah in a beautiful oracle (ix. 7—x. 4; verses 25–30) composed about 726 B.C. describes the rising spirit of confident self-assertion which prevailed in Ephraim at this time: so that in pride they said, 'Bricks have fallen, yet will we build with hewn stone; sycomores have been hewn down, but cedars we will put in their place.' Yahweh, however, now stirs up the very foes that formerly beleaguered Mount Zion¹ against Ephraim. Ephraim's former allies now become her enemies. Isaiah says nothing about Assyria. Perhaps he shared the view which prevailed among the Palestinian states at that time, following immediately after the death of Tiglath-Pileser, that nothing was at the moment to be feared from the arms of Assyria. But the conclusion of this wonderful poem (verses 26–29 quoted above) warrants the belief that the prophet actually

¹ It is only by following the LXX that the passage becomes intelligible. The Massoretic reading 'foes of Resin' in ix. 10 introduces utter confusion, from which Duhm and Marti are unable to rid themselves. See commentary on the text.

foresaw that eventually Assyrian armies would be set in motion against Northern Israel and bring about the final catastrophe.

These concluding lines of Isaiah's prophecy were destined to receive speedy fulfilment. Under the circumstances of reviving national confidence and prosperity and Assyria's temporary quiescence Hoshea began to pursue in secret the policy of resistance to Assyrian domination. Egypt, still under the twenty-fourth dynasty, remained weak and divided. Negotiations, however, were opened with Egypt, as the oracles of Hosea the contemporary prophet of Ephraim clearly testify¹, and also with an-

¹ The vacillating policy of King Hoshea, who played a double part with Assyria and Egypt, is compared to the flitting to and fro of a 'silly dove' (Hos. v. 13, vii. 11, xi. 1). It is impossible, however, any longer to identify the 'Sō (which ought to be pronounced Sēvē) King of Egypt' with Sabakō or Shabaka of Egypt who inaugurated the twenty-fifth dynasty. For the commencement of the reign of Shabaka (called *Shabakū* on the Rassam cyl. (R^m) of Ašurbanipal) cannot be placed earlier than about 708 b. c. (Max Müller). The date assigned in Meyer's *History of Egypt* (circ. 728 b. c.) is certainly too early, though I adhered to it six years ago (in article 'Hoshea' and also 'Pełakah' in Hastings' *DB*.). Moreover, Sō is not an Egyptian potentate at all, but must be identified with a King Sib'i, a military officer (Tartan) of the land Muṣri in Northern Arabia (near Edom), to whom Sargon in his Khor-sabad inscription, line 25, alludes. Both Winckler and Hommel, however, make deductions from their discovery of this new North Arabian land which I am not prepared to accept with the complaisance which Guthe (*Gesch. des V. Isr.*, p. 192) and Cheyne (article 'Mizraim' in *Enc. Bibl.*) accord to them. It is assumed that there has been throughout Hebrew literature a widespread confusion between this North Arabian land Muṣri (Hommel's Moṣar) and Misraim (Egypt), and this involves the narratives of Israel's stay in and departure from Egypt. Cheyne follows Winckler (*Enc. Bibl.* 'Exodus') in transferring the scene to the newly-discovered North Arabian region. See also Winckler in *KAT*, i. pp. 146 foll.; Hommel, *Aufsätze u. Abhandlungen*, iii. 1 (1901), pp. 303–312. But in assuming such a wholesale confusion throughout biblical literature we tend to lose sight of historic realities and perspectives. The Arabian land (*māt*) Muṣri found in Tiglath-Pileser's and

other kingdom lying to the south and closely adjoined Egypt, whose name in Assyrian (Muṣri) is frequently confused in the biblical records with the very similar Semitic name for Egypt itself (Misr, in Assyr. Misri).

How long the process of double dealing with both Assyria and Egypt (as well as Northern Arabia) continued it is impossible to decide. Probably the negotiation carried on by Hoshea with his southern and south-western allies were kept secret from the Assyrian court until the right moment arrived for throwing off all disguise. The actual situation was disclosed by the cessation of payment of the annual tribute paid by Ephraim to Assyria. In the summer of 724 B.C. the forces of Shalmaneser were directed against Samaria, and the city became closely invested by the Assyrian armies.

These events were watched with anxious interest by two contemporary prophets. One of them was Hosea of the northern kingdom and the other was Isaiah of Judah. There is profound pathos in the agonizing appeals which the former prophet places in the lips of Yahweh as He contemplates the swiftly advancing ruin which threatens His faithless spouse, Ephraim: 'How shall I give thee up, Ephraim? How shall I desert thee, Israel? How shall I make thee like Admah? How shall I set thee a Zebboim? My heart is turned within me, my compassion are kindled together.' But Israel's doom cannot be averted: 'The iniquity of Ephraim is bound up. His sin is laid i

Sargon's inscriptions (and also in the Minaean or old Arabic) possessed but secondary importance, while Egypt continues to play a leading rôle in West-Asian politics even in the days of her temporary decadence. This should give us pause in substituting the one for the other closely similar name in the O.T. records. Nevertheless Winckler's and Hommel's discovery throws much-needed light on Hagar's origin (Gen. xvi, xxii) and on Gen. xx. Also in Ps. lx. 11 (an old Davidic fragment) Winckler is probably right in reading 'Who hath brought me to Musr, who hath led me to Edom?' See further notes on xx. 5 and xxx. 4, footnote.

store . . . Samaria shall bear her guilt because she hath rebelled against her God : they shall fall by the sword ; their infants shall be dashed in pieces.' (Hos. xi. 7, xiii. 12, xiv. 1). The prophet of the southern kingdom stood at a greater distance from the scene of events than Hosea, and the strain of his oracle is more measured (Isa. xxviii. 1 foll.) :—' Woe to the crown of pride of the drunkards of Ephraim, and to the fading flower of his glorious beauty, which is on the summit of the fertile valley of them that are overcome with wine. Behold, the Lord hath a mighty and strong one ; as a tempest of hail, a destroying storm, a tempest of mighty waters overflowing, doth He violently cast down to the earth. The crown of pride of the drunkards of Ephraim shall be trodden under foot.'

For two years the siege was continued with all its unspeakable horrors of slaughter, disease, and privation : of captives impaled on stakes around the encircling walls; in presence of the beleaguered inhabitants—scenes vividly portrayed in the Nimrûd gallery of the British Museum (see *Enc. Bibl.*, article 'Siege'). Meanwhile no help came from either Egypt or Northern Arabia. Gaza and Ashdod were in turn to suffer in coming years a like disillusionment. Egypt's strength was to 'sit still' (Râhab 'sit-still') in the presence of Assyrian oppression. The siege was pressed on with vigour by a new Assyrian general of much energy, who became Shalmaneser's successor, viz. Sargon (Šarru-kînu) II. The end came at last, recorded in two lines of his great Khorsabad inscription (23, 24) : ' Samaria I besieged, I captured ; 27,290 of her inhabitants I carried away ; fifty chariots I collected from their midst. The rest of their property I caused to be taken (?). My viceroy I placed over them and imposed the tribute of the previous kings.'

Here the brilliant national history of the northern kingdom closes. It is rarely that we meet with an ending so tragic and abrupt. From 2 Kings xvii. 6 we learn that the inhabitants were transported to districts in

or near Babylonia, while Babylonian inhabitants were settled in the lands once occupied by the deported Ephraimites. Cf. Schrader, *COT.*, ii. p. 267 foll. These exiled Israelite populations henceforth disappear from history.

These events must have made a profound impression on the neighbouring southern kingdom of Judah. The policy of Ahaz still continued to be one of subservience to Assyria, and Judah played the ignoble rôle of vassal-state. Ahaz could therefore only be a passive spectator, while Ephraim in the grip of her remorseless foe, unaided by the allies upon whom she had reckoned, waged her last life-and-death struggle. The annals in the Books of Kings are too scanty to afford us any light as to what passed at this time in Jerusalem. The internal policies of her king and his court are shrouded in mystery save for the occasional and fitful gleams of light that emerge from the oracles of Isaiah.

It will be necessary at this stage to interpose a short discussion on the thorny subject of chronology, which at this point in the history of Judah becomes complicated and difficult. The question we have to settle is: In what year did Ahaz die and Hezekiah succeed to the throne? We have to deal with the following express statements in 2 Kings:—

(a) 2 Kings xviii. 1. Hezekiah ascended the throne in the third year of Hoshea, King of Israel. When did the reign of Hoshea begin? According to the data of the cuneiform inscriptions (see Appendix I, to Introd. p. 87) this would be somewhere between 734 and 732 B.C., but the biblical statements would assign Hoshea's accession to 730 B.C. Hoshea, as we learn from the inscriptions, Tiglath-Pileser, was placed as Assyria's nominee on the throne of the defeated and slain Pekah; but it does not follow that his position as king was immediately recognized. The biblical date at all events is 730, when we consider the verses which follow.

(b) 2 Kings xviii. 9, 10. War against Samaria began in the fourth year of Hezekiah, the seventh of Hoshea, and Samaria was captured in Hezekiah's sixth year, which was Hoshea's ninth.

Now, it is extremely fortunate that this tragic event, the capture of Samaria, can be assigned to a very definite date. From the data of the cuneiform inscriptions (more fully explained in the appendix), with which the biblical statements agree, we know that the capture of Samaria took place in 722-1 B.C. This at once determines the date of Hoshea's accession as 731-30¹, and of Hezekiah's as 727-6 B.C.

(c) But as we read further, in verse 13 (= Isa. xxxvi. 1; 2 Chron. xxxii. 1), we are told that the invasion of Judah by Sennacherib took place in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah. Now this memorable invasion and the siege of Jerusalem (of which more will be said later) were naturally events of immense importance. Of this episode we possess a long account both in the Bible and in the cuneiform annals of Sennacherib. It is hardly probable that there would be any serious error as to its date in the biblical annals. In fact after the overthrow of Samaria, when we have only the history of Judah recorded for us, and have no longer any cross-references between the two sets of national records belonging to the northern and to the southern kingdom respectively, we are beset with much fewer difficulties, though they do not altogether disappear. There cannot be any doubt that the records of the northern kingdom, not only during the ninth century, but also and especially during the troubled years of Tiglath-Pileser's invasions (745-27), have come down to us in a very defective state, and nearly all our chronological difficulties and the discrepancies between the

¹ Respecting this margin of uncertainty extending to one year, see the author's article on Chronology in Schrader's *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the O. T.*, vol. ii. pp. 301 foll., and in Wright's *Bible Handbook* ('Old Test. Chronology'), p. 52.

biblical statements and those of the cuneiform inscriptions arise from these defective records. Unfortunately *Judaean* history before 722-1 has become entangled in the chronological confusion in which the records of the northern kingdom (of Ephraim) have been involved. But after 722-1, when the latter history abruptly ends, our course becomes clearer, and we may fully trust the assertion that Sennacherib invaded Judah in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah.

About the date of Sennacherib's invasion we obtain precise information, fortunately, from the Assyrian records. It occurred in the year 701. Accordingly, 2 Kings xviii. 13 makes it clear that Hezekiah ascended the throne in 715-14 B.C., and this date is accepted by Wellhausen and Kamphausen. Here we seem to have an irreconcileable contradiction with the statements contained in (a) and (b).

(a) We have to consider the data of the respective ages of Ahaz and Hezekiah at their accession. 2 Kings xvi. 2, Ahaz was twenty at his accession; 2 Kings xviii. 2, Hezekiah was twenty-five. There is nothing improbable about these statements, and taken by themselves we have no reason to dispute them. But let us now look at the consequences if we accept (a) and (b). The date of the accession of Ahaz is determined by the facts of Bible history, viz. the Syro-Ephraimite war and the war of Tiglath-Pileser against Pekah that immediately followed, which the Assyrian annals illustrate for us. It is comparatively easy of proof that Ahaz did not come to the throne earlier than 735¹. We are therefore driven

¹ This is the date assigned by Kamphausen in his valuable *Chronology of the Hebrew Kings*, and accepted by the present writer in his edition of Schrader's *Cuneiform Inscriptions and O. T.*, vol. ii. p. 321. Precisely the same date is given in Hastings' *DB.*, article 'Chronology,' vol. i. p. 402, left-hand col., and in *Ezr. Bibl.*, vol. i. col. 795, though the writer (Marti) seems disposed to place it a year later.

by (*a*) and (*b*) to the conclusion that Ahaz was three or four years old when he became the father of Hezekiah !

If we accept (*c*) in its entirety, we are thereby compelled to reject (*a*) and (*b*) with their repeated assertions that Hoshea and Hezekiah were contemporary in their reigns, and that the capture of Samaria took place when Hezekiah was king.

The hypothesis which the present writer advanced in 1888 (Schrader, *COT.*, vol. ii. p. 322), that Hezekiah was associated by Ahaz with himself on the throne in 727-6 B.C., and that their joint reign lasted from that date till 715 B.C., appears to solve the problem more completely than any other theory hitherto proposed, and involves fewer rejections of biblical statements. The assertion that Hezekiah was twenty-five at his accession (2 Kings xviii. 2) refers, of course, to his sole reign in 715-14, and not to his joint reign with Ahaz. The latter began when he was thirteen. How can this hypothesis be justified ?

The death of the powerful Assyrian monarch Tiglath-Pileser III in 727 B.C. (like that of Sargon in 705) was an event of immense importance throughout Western Asia. We have already seen how it awoke the dormant energies of the Ephraimite kingdom which the strong personality of the Assyrian monarch had held under restraint. It was talked of in all the streets and bazaars of every Palestinian town, from Gaza to Damascus. Every cowed and subject vassal-state began now to breathe more freely. In Samaria the popular anti-Assyrian feeling became so strong that it would have remorselessly swept King Hoshea, Assyria's vassal-puppet, from place and power if he had not swum with the current of revolt. And Jerusalem was no exception. There can be little doubt that Ahaz was exposed to like influences. The death of Tiglath-Pileser, his powerful support in 734 B.C., the hour of his extreme danger, must now have caused him many anxious moments. Isaiah was, we know (*chap. viii*), no friend of the Assyrian alliance, and

his personal influence was a powerful factor. Doubtless strong influences were brought to bear on Jerusalem from Samaria. If alliance with Egypt was out of the question as a counterpoise to Assyria, because Egypt was then weak, why not follow Ephraim's policy and co-operate with Sibī (*Seveh*) of the north Arabian clan Musri? It was a dangerous moment for a strong and persistent friend of Assyria. The King of Judah had no most difficult and perilous rôle to sustain. He had to maintain his position at the head of the state when Ephraim once more began to move actively against the new and less energetic successor of the deceased Napoleon of Western Asia. Ahaz naturally looked to the security of his throne and dynasty. He placed his young son, then about thirteen years of age, on the throne. Perhaps the latter had already become popular. Moreover, he had comparatively recent precedent for such an act. Azariah (Uzziah) his grandfather had delegated the office of kingship to his son when he was incapacitated from the discharge of its duties.

No change of policy was involved in the act, for Hezekiah was too young to exercise personal influence. It served only to perpetuate the succession.

On the other hand, the continuance of Ahaz on the throne serves to explain many facts which to the historical student would be otherwise obscure. Ahaz still held all the reins of power, and felt himself sufficiently strong to resist the pressure of the anti-Assyrian movement. We can now fully understand the quiescent attitude of Jerusalem while the tragedy of the sister-state in those terrible years 724-21 was enacting¹. Such an attitude would

¹ It might be argued that the chronology proposed by Winckler, which places the death of Ahaz in 720, solves the problem of Judah's political attitude while his Israelite kindred were suffering at the hands of Assyria. This date is adopted by Marti, article 'Chronology' in *Ene. Bibl.*, also by Guthe in his *History of the People Israel*, and it has recently

have been hardly possible, unless the Assyrian policy of Ahaz was continued under the direction of Ahaz himself. That policy of friendship to Assyria was maintained as steadfastly by Ahaz as the policy of friendship to Russia by Bismarck throughout his entire tenure of power. For the prevailing estimate of Ahaz as a weakling needs some correction. The standpoint from which men and policies are judged in the O. T. is essentially the religious standpoint of the observer who belonged to the prophetic school of Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Jeremiah, or it is that of the religious legalism of the Book of Deuteronomy. But these do not necessarily coincide with the standpoint of the scientific and dispassionate political historian. Ahaz at all events succeeded in guiding the ship of the state through stormy seas, and during his reign Judah remained, by means of his persistent policy of cynical opportunism, a dependent, minor vassal-state with its national existence, institutions and *sacra* intact while other Palestinian kingdoms had been engulfed or wrecked.

been regarded with favour by Professor Skinner in the *Century Bible*, *Commentary on Kings* (Introd., p. 44), though in his earlier work on *Isaiah* (*Cambridge Bible*) it is considered unjustifiable (Introd., p. 76, footnote). In our opinion, while it conserves to us the traditional length of the reign of Ahaz (sacrificed in our own scheme), it leaves us at hopeless variance with nearly every other chronological datum of the Bible for the period 735-700 B.C.

The attempt which was formerly made to account for 2 Kings xviii. 13 (Isa. xxxvi. 1) by the supposition that there was a confusion between an invasion of Sargon in 712-11 B.C. and the later well-known invasion of Sennacherib in 701, has broken down utterly since it has been discovered that the passage in Sargon's Nimrud inscription (line 8), in which mention is made of Sargon's subjection of the 'land Ja-u-du, whose situation is remote,' cannot refer to Judah. For the mention of Jaabi'di of Hamath in the next clause and the discovery of the country Jädi in the Senjirli inscriptions make it quite evident that the 'land Jaudu' here is not Judah, but the northern country Jädi lying adjacent to Hamath. In accordance with these facts, it is impossible to refer 2. 28-32 to the days of Sargon (see note *ad loc.*).

There is no evidence that the policy maintained Ahaz was rudely broken when he died in 715 B.C. the indications seem to point to the conclusion that tradition of vassalage to Assyria was maintained (with exception¹) by Hezekiah till the close of Sargon's reign 705 B.C. Probably this state policy had been acquiesced in by the elders during the reign of Ahaz, for Sargon was as strong and as capable a military ruler as Tiglath Pileser himself. But indications of a movement towards emancipation begin to be visible after 715 B.C. Evidence for this is to be found in chap. xx of Isaiah which fortunately bears clearly on its forefront the historical occasion to which it refers, and the date of its composition. It is evidently a warning to Isaiah's countrymen not to rely on Egyptian help, and points to the overthrow of Ashdod as a political lesson to Judah not to be involved in the vortex of South Palestinian intrigues with Egypt and Ethiopia². For signs were beginning to appear that the distracted and hitherto impotent Egypt of this twelfth dynasty that better days were dawning. This dynasty was soon to see its end, if that end had already come. See notes on chap. xx. 5 foll.

What was the attitude of Hezekiah towards this movement? Probably he had been schooled in the policy of his father and, when his sole reign began, was not disposed immediately to break with it. Hitherto the policy of Ahaz, the humble vassal of Assyria, had been justified by success—the success of a politician who

¹ This exception corresponds with the critical year 711 to which chap. xx. refers. In a fragment of a prism inscription Sargon refers to Judah, Edom, and Moab entering into treasonable relations with the North Arabian ruler. See commentary on chap. xx, footnote.

² It is not necessary to discuss Guthe's impossible suggestion that this chapter (properly chap. xx. 8 foll.), as well as xxx. 1-5, xxxi. 1-3, must be assigned to the days of Tirhakah (691 B.C.). See his *Geschichte des Volkes Isr.*, p. 204.

ambitions were severely curtailed and who was well content to keep Judah out of harm's way.

Yet Hezekiah's personality is sharply contrasted in the Books of Kings with that of his father. It is a grave misfortune that we possess no living picture of him from a contemporary Hebrew writer possessing the vividness of Isa. vii, which records the dialogue between Isaiah and Ahaz. Strangely, the only contemporary records which mention his name are the foreign cuneiform annals of Sennacherib. We have therefore to content ourselves with the secondary testimony of 2 Kings. Placing all these indications together, we have presented to us a young ruler of the noblest type stirred by high ambitions upon whom Isaiah's personality had wrought. Did the prophet associate him at all with the ideals suggested by his great watchword Immanuel?

Nevertheless it is fairly clear that the statesmanship of Hezekiah was not the statesmanship of the prophet. The latter might be summed up in a few sentences: Believe in Yahweh the Holy One of Israel. Judah shall suffer for his sins, but a remnant shall be converted to God, and Zion which is His abode and stronghold shall not be taken. Heed not Egypt—the 'Rahab Sit-still' that moves too late if he move at all. Heed not even Assyria, for Assyria's end shall one day come (cf. xxx. 3-5, 7, 27-33; xxxi. 1, 8). Probably these seemed to most of Isaiah's countrymen—perhaps even to Hezekiah—impracticable counsels, the words of a superhuman agent or mystic and not of a man of affairs. Hosea, the prophet of the northern kingdom about a generation earlier, was familiar with this attitude. 'The prophet is a fool, the inspired man is frenzied' (Hos. ix. 7). It is therefore not surprising that the politicians of Jerusalem paid as little heed to the warnings of Isaiah about the Egyptian alliance as the politicians of Samaria to the utterances of his elder contemporary. The Israelites also had their *Cassandras*. The death of Sargon (705 B.C.) caused as great a flutter

of excitement to pass throughout Palestine and Phoenicia as the death of Tiglath-Pileser III occasioned more than twenty years previously. Probably the effect was even greater. For coincident with the death of Assyria's great military leader and monarch there was a revival of strength in Egypt. About the time 708-6 B.C. the Ethiopian king Shabako the son of Keshta invaded the country north of Thebes and took the Egyptian king Bocchoris prisoner.¹ Now for the first time the Palestinians and Phoenicians who observed the approaching Assyrian colossus with growing anxiety saw in the approaching dynasty of Egypt (the twenty-fifth) a power equal to the Assyrian to which they could appeal for help¹.

Even Hezekiah was now constrained to throw his father's policy to the winds. And Isaiah was not uninfluenced by the pulses of the rising expectation of freedom from the galling fetters of Assyrian dominion. A new note appears in his oracles. He adopts a threatening attitude towards Assyria. Hitherto Assyria had been the 'mace of Yahweh's wrath.' But the instrument seeks to exalt itself unduly, and has failed to realize its subordinate relation to God (x. 5 foll., cf. also xiv. 24-27), and boasts, 'through the power of my hand—I have done it, and through my wisdom, . . . and have removed the frontiers of nations and plundered their stores' (verses 13 foll.). God's word of comfort now comes to Judah for almost the first time for many years in Isaiah's ministry: 'Fear not my people that inhabit Zion because of Asshur that smites thee, . . . for in a little while wrath is at an end, . . . and it shall come to pass in that day that his burden shall pass from thy shoulder and his yoke shall cease from thy neck' (cf. also xxx. 27 foll., xxxi. 8).

About this time an event of great importance took place. The death of Sargon reacted powerfully on Babylonia as well as Palestine. Babylonia had for a long

¹ Max Müller, 'Egypt' in *Enc. Bibl.*, s. col. 7245.

time been a centre of opposition to the supremacy of Assyria through the restless energy undaunted by defeat of its ruler Merodach-Baladan (Marduk-abal-iddin). This ruler, a man of ceaseless ambition, was originally King of Chaldaea (in the Assyrian inscriptions *māt Tāmtim* or 'sea-land'), and had possessed himself of a considerable portion of Babylonia, but was driven out by Tiglath-Pileser in 729 B.C. After that monarch's death he recovered his position, and with the aid of the King of Elam obtained possession of his former realm. Though Sargon defeated him and his Elamite allies in 721 B.C. he could not dislodge him from the throne of Babylon, where the latter ruled by dint of foreign aid from that date till 709 B.C., when Sargon (the Arkeanos of the Ptolemaic Canon) finally drove him from Babylon, which he ruled himself until his death. Then, on Sargon's decease, Merodach-Baladan's enterprises revived, and the embassy to Hezekiah must be placed in this brief interval 705-4 B.C., when Merodach-Baladan was struggling to recover his Babylonian throne. This at length he succeeded in occupying for the third time—but this time for the brief period of six months only (according to Polyhistor's statement preserved in Eusebius)¹, or, following contemporary records, *nine* months.

¹ The Babylonian list of kings assigns *nine* months to the brief reign of Merodach-Baladan (*KIB.*, ii. p. 290 and Winckler, *Untersuch.*, p. 12) and apparently one month to Marduk-zākir-šum (= Hagises?). It is most unfortunate that the Babylonian Chronicle (transcribed by Pinches in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Soc.*, vol. xix. part iv; see *KIB.*, ii. p. 274 foll.) is seriously mutilated in this important portion, col. ii. lines 10-22. Sennacherib seems to have attempted the reconquest of Babylonia about 704 B.C. Probably the embassy of Merodach-Baladan may be assigned to about this date. Sennacherib set up as vassal-king in Babylon Bel-ibni after Merodach-Baladan had been for a time driven out. But the Babylonian Chronicle makes it quite clear that Merodach-Baladan was able with the help of his allies to render Bel-ibni's position so insecure that the latter was forced to become disloyal to Assyria, so that

It is this embassy which is vividly described in Isa. xxxix (2 Kings xx. 12 foll.), a chapter which, along with ch. xxxviii, evidently takes chronological precedence of the chapters that go before it, xxxvi-xxxvii. This inversion, however, originates with the compiler of the Books of Kings, from which this narrative section has been derived (chs. xxxvi-xxxix); 2 Kings xx. 1-19 is obviously an extract from a biography of the prophet, probably made a century or more later, which the compiler has placed after chs. xviii. 13-xix, irrespective of chronological considerations. This inversion of chronological order is more easily explained when we remember that only a brief interval elapsed (perhaps not more than about two or three years) between the embassy of Merodach-Baladan and the invasion of Palestine by Sennacherib. It would not be easily explained if we assume, with Winckler, that this embassy took place about seventeen years earlier¹.

both he and his officials were ultimately withdrawn to Assyria after having ruled three years (*Bab. Chron.*, col. ii. 26-29).

¹ Winckler's hypothesis is set forth with considerable ingenuity in his *Altestamentliche Untersuchungen*, p. 139 foll., also *KAT.*³, p. 270 foll. Cf. notes on Isa. xiv. 28-32. The year 720-19 is assigned by Winckler to this embassy of Merodach-Baladan. According to Winckler the death of Ahaz had just taken place and the young Hezekiah had ascended the throne. 'The deputation had also to bring him congratulations on his accession; moreover, the reported display of the treasure-house (2 Kings xx. 13) becomes much more natural. We can readily understand the pride with which the young ruler wished to give them an idea of his riches' (p. 140). This looks very picturesque and plausible, but it is very improbable. There is no proof that the power of Sargon had suffered any diminution in the west, though in the east Merodach-Baladan had succeeded in maintaining his position in Babylon by the aid of his Elamite allies in spite of his severe losses at the battle of Durilu. Is it at all credible that a young ruler of the small vassal-state of Judah would inaugurate his reign by breaking with the safe political tradition of grandparent and father and bid defiance to the greatest monarch of his time by welcoming the ambassadors of Assyria's persistent opponent and neighbour? This he is

There is no reference to this embassy in the oracles of the prophet. The words attributed to the prophet in Isa. xxxix. 6, 7 (2 Kings xx. 17, 18) come from a later biographical source incorporated into a work compiled not earlier than the days of the Exile. Nowhere in the genuine oracles of Isaiah do we have any reference to exile in Babylonia, to which direct allusion is made in verses 6, 7. While, however, we may assume that the form in which the utterance of Isaiah has been presented to us has been moulded by the events which had recently happened in Jewish history and lay beyond the confines of Isaiah's prophetic outlook, yet a substantial historic basis remains. For the words of the passage do undoubtedly reflect his attitude (also the attitude of the prophet Hosea) towards foreign alliances. The student of Isaiah's words in chap. vii, uttered more than thirty years before, can scarcely doubt what his warnings would be now.

And this view receives strong confirmation from the interesting group of oracles delivered about this very time against the Egyptian alliance, viz. chap. xxx. 1-5 and chap. xxxi. Isaiah held precisely the same opinions about Egypt and an Egyptian alliance as he had announced ten years previously in the days of Sargon, when that monarch conquered Ashdod (chap. xx). Probably he now stood almost alone. In 711 his warnings were

supposed to have done, though Judah's once powerful sister-kingdom had been swept out of existence by Sargon two years previously, and the victorious battle of Raphia had just been fought against Hanno King of Gaza and his North Arabian allies (720 b. c.). And if Hezekiah (whose other acts scarcely prove him to be reckless) had on this occasion committed such a deed of useless folly, is it probable that his kingdom would have remained unmolested by Sargon for the next fourteen years? There is abundant justification therefore for maintaining the view advocated by Schrader in *COT*, ii. p. 29 that this embassy to Hezekiah belongs to 704-2 b. c. It was probably one of the causes that precipitated Sennacherib's invasion of Palestine.

evidently supported by a strong Assyrian party who favoured the traditional policy of Ahaz. Now almost the entire stream of national feeling flowed in a powerful tide towards an understanding with Shabako the Ethiopian king who ruled over Egypt. Isaiah passionately protested, though in vain, against this policy of an Egyptian alliance. It was directly contrary to Yahweh's purpose. Yahweh had not been consulted by the promoters of this policy. They were trusting in Egypt's shadow which was to become their shame. He coins an epithet which heightens the absurdity of Egypt's claim to be regarded as a great power. He combines with the name Rahab, the mythical monster—the dragon of the deep—the conception of inert helplessness. Egypt, which had repeatedly imposed upon the Palestinian states, from the days of Amen-Hotep (Amenophis III) and Rameses, as a powerful kingdom, he designates by the sarcastic title Rahab sit-still—the monster that procrastinates and does nothing! (see notes on Isa. xxx. 7).

Though the influence of Isaiah's personality at this time was very great it was not strong enough to stem the tide. About this time he came into violent conflict with Shebna the prime minister (or vizier) of Hezekiah, who evidently was a strong supporter of the Egyptian alliance, and succeeded in obtaining his temporary banishment¹. This furnishes only one out of many indications that the prophet, like Jeremiah after him, felt out of harmony with much of the prevailing spirit of his time. It is quite true that he foresaw the impending humiliation of Assyria. The vast horde of Assyrian plunderers rushing on like a tumultuous torrent is only to have its way for one brief night. The morning will come, and it will have vanished (xvii. 12-14). About this time the Ethiopians were in great apprehension respecting the intentions of Assyria.

¹ See notes on xxii. 15 foll. The episode, it must be confessed, has its obscure features.

They had heard of the hostile designs and movements which threatened to overwhelm Egypt. Accordingly they were preparing to send emissaries by papyrus boats down the Nile stream to king Hezekiah. These swift messengers are reassured by Isaiah, who bids them return to their own people. He declares to them that Assyria's warlike enterprises will end in ghastly failure, and the bodies of the Assyrian warriors shall become the prey of mountain vultures and ravenous beasts of the earth (chap. xviii).

But the tone and temper of the Palestinian peoples were far different. While Ethiopia felt undue apprehension, Philistia and Judah were animated by undue elation and confidence. Popular feeling often runs to extremes. In 735, when the Ephraimite and Syrian armies were advancing against Jerusalem, the ruling classes of the city were in a condition of abject panic, and the restraining influence of the prophet was required to reassure them against the two spent ends of smoking logs (vii. 4). Now, thirty years after, they felt the other extreme of childish frivolous optimism. At this time Philistia was largely under the control of Hezekiah. After the oppression of the reign of Sargon, the Philistine cities were glad to shelter themselves under the aegis of their neighbour. The self-restraining policy of Hezekiah, succeeding the safe diplomacy of his father, had preserved Judah unscathed while the Philistine towns had felt the Assyrian's heavy hand. Now that Hezekiah had clearly revealed his intentions by the reception of Merodach-Baladus's overtures, they looked to Hezekiah for assistance. This good news of alliance between Hezekiah and Merodach, succeeding to the tidings of Sargon's decease, filled the Philistine towns with delight. They at once sent a deputation to the Judaean court. The prophet's warning voice restrains their enthusiasm: 'Rejoice not Philistia.' The 'mace' which dealt such terrible blows was broken on the death of Sargon. But the serpent's brood would

arise—the fiery, winged serpent. At the same time the envoys are encouraged to look to Zion as a refuge in the hour of distress when the herald signals would be flaming in the northern sky, and the smoke of burning villages and strongholds would announce the advance of the desolating armies of Sennacherib (xiv. 29-32).

That advance, however, was delayed for about three years. After Sennacherib had succeeded in subduing for a time Babylonia and the allies whom the restless energy of Merodach-Baladan always succeeded in summoning to his aid, he turned his attention to the west which was seething with revolt. Probably all its states, from Tyre to Edom and Judah, had become defaulters in tribute-payment. His operations in the west, which he calls his 'third campaign,' have a profound interest for the Bible student because the fortunes of Judah became deeply involved in its course, and the Bible narrative 2 Kings xviii. 13-xix (Isa. xxxvi, xxxvii) covers a part of the story of this expedition. The date is definitely fixed by all authorities in the year 701 B.C. Most fortunately we possess not only the biblical account of this momentous campaign, but a full record of Sennacherib's own cuneiform documents, in two versions: (a) the longest and most important is the prism inscription, otherwise called Taylor's hexagonal cylinder, which is a continuous account of all Sennacherib's wars; (b) the parallel record, somewhat briefer, and in almost identical phraseology, on the Kuyundshik bulls. In Taylor's cylinder the account begins at col. ii. line 34¹ and ends at col. iii. line 47, and fortunately for us the text is well preserved. It is also fortunate that we have a fuller account of this Palestinian campaign than of any expeditions that precede or follow it, excepting his eighth against Babylon.

¹ Each column corresponds to one of the sides of the hexagonal cylinder. Consequently there are six columns in all. Similarly with the ten-sided Rassam cylinder of Ashur-bani-pa. All these documents are preserved in the British Museum.

and the Elamites. The expedition began, as we might expect, with an attack on Tyre, but like Nebuchadnezzar he was unable to reduce it. He succeeded, however, in capturing from Elulaeus King of Sidon not only his own city Sidon, but also Sarepta, Acco, and other towns.

The army moves southwards and enters the Philistine region. It is quite apparent that the Assyrians profited by the want of cohesion among the Palestinian states. Probably Moab, Ammon and Edom could not forget old feuds with their Judaean neighbour, and the promptings of self-interest led them to make overtures of submission. Even Philistia did not present a united front of resistance. Ashdod with Mitinti at its head yielded to the conqueror and paid tribute. But Sidka, who ruled over a group of Philistine towns, Ashkelon, Joppa, Beth-Dagon, &c. (col. ii. 58-66), made a strong resistance, and his towns were probably not captured without a struggle.

It is by no means certain that the prism inscription gives us the accurate chronological order of events. Both Schrader and the latest commentator on this inscription, the Rev. C. H. W. Johns (article 'Sennacherib' in *Enc. Bibl.*), have noted the gaps in the narrative. The latter observes that nothing is said in this document about Lachish, where Sennacherib halted. Yet this halt at Lachish plays a considerable part in the biblical narrative. In fact it begins with this stage in Sennacherib's operations, 2 Kings xviii. 14 (Isa. xxxvi. 2), and this feature of the Bible story is strikingly confirmed by one of the reliefs in the British Museum which depicts Sennacherib on a throne receiving the submission of Lachish, and contains the brief inscription, 'Sennacherib, the king of the world, set himself on a great throne and received the spoil of the town Lachish.' Schrader, moreover, observes that there is a tendency in the cuneiform record to glaze over awkward facts, and that it 'purposely shifts the chronological order of events and ends with a redacted

to the rich tribute' (*COT.*, ii. p. 301). About this the reader can form his own conclusions from the translation appended to this volume (pp. 370-1). What we are chiefly concerned to do at the present moment is to attempt to reconstruct the actual order of events. At what point in the narrative does the Lachish episode come in?

The most probable conclusion is that it should be inserted into the account immediately after the desperate battle of Altakû or Eltekeh which stood a few miles distant from Lachish. Probably the army of Sennacherib moved southwards to Lachish after that battle was fought. After this we take up the thread of the narrative in Isa. xxxvi. foll.

We shall therefore follow the course of Sennacherib's campaign, as it is described in his prism inscription, with the reserve of doubt already expressed as to its truthful representation of the actual sequence of events¹. One feature that must impress the student is the large space (col. ii. 69—col. iii. 41) which is devoted in the inscription to the resistance of Hezekiah and of the towns subject to his influence. That influence was evidently considerable. The desperate resistance offered by Ekron (*Amkarruna*) was entirely due to the support derived from Jerusalem. The inhabitants of this town were probably among those who sent the deputation to Hezekiah to which Isaiah addressed the brief oracle of warning to which reference has been made (Isa. xiv, 29 foll.). At that time their king was Padi, a puppet of Sargon whom he may have installed (like Rukibti of Ashkelon) during the Assyrian invasion 713-11 B.C. This king the inhabitants boldly delivered up to Hezekiah, who detained him in strict arrest at Jerusalem. Meanwhile a crisis in the campaign was swiftly approaching, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem

¹ It might have been the case that some of Sidka's towns did not yield submission till after the conquest of Ekron. For convenience in the narrative they are dealt with successively in one group (col. ii. 58-68).

appear to have surrendered themselves to an optimism and easy assurance which vexed the sad heart of Isaiah; the only man perhaps in all Jerusalem who estimated the dangers of the situation aright and had a clear vision of Judah's real source of strength—the Holy One of Israel. Isaiah passes through the tumultuous exultant city with indignant foreboding and bitter tears; 'for it is a day of discomfiting, treading down and perplexity' (xxii. 1-5). Zion, the altar-hearth of God, was to be beleaguered, and siegeworks would be set up against her (xxix. 1-3).

Probably Hezekiah was reckoning on the ability of his allies to defeat Sennacherib even after the defection of Moab and Edom. He counted on the active co-operation of Egypt and also on that of North Arabia, the steadfast foe of Assyria and, as it turned out, more steadfast than the much-vaunted power of revived Egypt. This fact is obscured in the account contained in the Books of Kings, in which, owing to a confusion, Tirhakah's name is drawn into connexion with the narrative. Recent investigation proves that Tirhakah belongs to a later time and hardly appears on the scene of history till at least ten years later. Shabako was then (701 B.C.) the Ethiopian ruler of Egypt, and it does not appear that he took any part in repelling the Assyrian invasion. The investigations of Dr. Hugo Winckler have clearly proved that the kings who fought in alliance with Hezekiah and the revolting Philistine towns were not kings of Egypt, as Assyriologists formerly supposed, but kings of the North Arabian land called Musri or Musram. Arabians constituted in fact a part of the fighting garrison in Jerusalem upon whom Hezekiah depended (specially mentioned by Sennacherib, col. iii. 31). These investigations, while they invalidate one detail in the narrative of the Books of Kings compiled more than a century later, confirm in a striking manner the absolute truth of Isaiah's insight and prescience. Egypt was still the false prop on which Palestine leaned—her evil genius, *Rahab sit-still.*

Eltekeh, a town close to the rebellious Ekron (cf. Joshua xix. 44, xxi. 23), called in Sennacherib's annals Altakū, was the scene of a desperate and by no means decisive battle that was now fought by the Assyrians against the Philistines with their Arabian allies. Sennacherib in his report of the victory makes much of his capture of the commander of the chariot-division as well as of the sons of one of the North Arabian princes. Schrader calls it a Pyrrhus-victory, since we have no statement as to the number of captives taken or chariots seized as trophies, details which in nearly all cases garnish Assyrian narratives. The capture of Timnath followed. Ekron was besieged, and the inhabitants were confronted with the gruesome spectacle, in which Assyrians delighted, of corpses impaled upon stakes set around their walls (col. iii. 3). After the fall of Ekron Sennacherib probably moved on with the main body of his army southward to the powerfully fortified town Lachish, whose strong and ancient walls have in recent years been laid bare by Mr. Bliss at Tell el Hesi. What operations he conducted at Lachish in order to reduce it we do not know. We know that it submitted to the Assyrians. There for the present he erected his head quarters. Probably he anticipated another desperate conflict with the Northern Arabs, reinforced, it may be, by Egyptian troops.

Meanwhile he had detached a corps to operate against Hezekiah. It ravaged Judah, and forty-six fortified positions were seized. At length Jerusalem itself was reached and closely beleaguered. Hezekiah, according to the Assyrian's scornful boast, was shut into Jerusalem 'like a bird in a cage.' It is at this point the biblical narrative begins (Isa. xxxvi, xxxvii; 2 Kings xviii. 13—xix. 37). In the introductory remarks to chap. xxxvi we have dealt with the critical problems affecting these chapters, which recent critics have divided into three distinct accounts. The first consists of a very brief record which in 2 Kings occupies three verses only (2 Kings

xviii. 14-16), and in the Book of Isaiah is altogether omitted. This (evidently an extract from the royal annals) is the only portion which covers the same historic ground as the inscriptions of Sennacherib. In the brief form of this summary in 2 Kings we learn that Hezekiah endeavoured in an abject manner to placate his powerful enemy by large gifts of money from the royal treasury, and that he even robbed the doors and pillars of the temple of their precious metal. This summary in 2 Kings xviii. 14-16 is in substantial agreement with the closing lines of Sennacherib's narrative, which adds further details, 'Besides 30 talents of gold and 800 talents of silver, I caused precious stones, glittering stones, lapis lazuli, an ivory couch, a lofty seat of elephant-hide and ivory . . . an enormous treasure, his daughters, his palace-wives, male and female attendants (?) to be brought after me to Nineveh, my royal residence; and he dispatched his envoys (?) to bring the tribute and tender homage' (col. iii. 34-41).

Sennacherib's inscription in its account of the campaign ends off with this bombastic flourish. It confirms the Bible narrative in yet another particular. Both the prism inscription and this brief summary never state that the beleaguered city was captured by Sennacherib.

The following two narratives, which are much longer and more vivid, viz. 2 Kings xviii. 13, 17-xix. 8 and 2 Kings xix. 9-37, are taken from biographical accounts of the prophet Isaiah, resembling the Elijah and Elisha narratives in 1 and 2 Kings. These furnish us with the story of the negotiations between the Assyrian envoys, the chief officer called Rabshakeh who plays the part of spokesman, the chief eunuch, and the Assyrian commander-in-chief (Tartan, cf. Isa. xx. 1) on the one side, and Hezekiah and his ministers of state on the other. In these two narratives we hear nothing about the large money payment. Whether this donative preceded, accompanied, or came after the negotiations, we do not

know. The silence of the narratives renders it probable that the last supposition is correct. Probably it acted as a salve to Sennacherib's wounded vanity in his failure to capture Judah's capital and stronghold. Perhaps Hezekiah adopted this as a somewhat abject method of compromise between Isaiah and his followers, faithful to the 'Holy One of Israel,' who counselled absolute refusal of the Assyrian demands, and the growing crowd of city-rulers, probably with Shebna at their head, reinforced by the panic-stricken and starving multitude, who urged upon the king the policy of complete surrender.

The failure of the Assyrians to capture Jerusalem may be ascribed to two causes, one internal and the other external. To these may be added a third, the outbreak of pestilence—the angel of the Lord that smites with cholera and typhus (*2 Sam. xxiv. 15 foll.*), and follows in the track of armies and their slaughter as a grim spectre.

The *internal cause* is incarnate in a human personality—the prophet Isaiah. As we read the dramatic story we hear the stentorian tones of the speech of Rabshakeh delivered in the nation's language to the despairing king, nobles and people—a speech full of menace, argument, scorn and reproach, deriding the national God in which the people trusted, recounting Assyria's invincible career of conquest, and pouring, with only too good reason, contempt on Egypt, the broken reed. Yet we know that there was one man in all that panic-stricken Jewish population whose heart never once quailed. There is no spectacle subtler in all history. Havelock in Lucknow, Gordon in Khartoum can hardly be cited as parallels. They fall immeasurably short of the inspired prophet of Jerusalem. Never were the strands of destiny so tightly strained. The fate of an ancient realm, of David's throne, seemed to hang suspended over the abyss by a frail thread—one man's personality. Beyond the walls of Jerusalem stood the impenetrable ranks of the besiegers. What was passing in the outer world was utterly unknown.

to the beleaguered garrison. But in this agonizing moment the prophet's soul was calm, resolute, and trustful, girt for that great hour. Only a few months before he sought to restrain the people amid their undue exultation. Now he restrains them in their despair, and bids the king and people trust and hope in the living God.

The external cause of Sennacherib's fainting we can infer from his own records. There was serious trouble once more in that old storm-centre, Babylonia. Hezekiah's confederate, Merodach-Baladan, again in exile from his throne, was stirring up resistance to Assyria in Babylon in conjunction with another Chaldaean prince, Shuzub, who subsequently became king of Babylon under the name Mushēzib-Marduk. Bēl-ibni, formerly the creature of Assyria, was drawn into their toils. Elamites, as might be expected, were active participants in their efforts to throw off Sennacherib's yoke. News of these troubles reached the ears of the Assyrian king at Lachish, and he at once gave up the effort to capture Jerusalem and hurried eastward to re-establish his crumbling authority¹.

§ 3. THE INTERNAL SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF ISRAEL DURING THE LATTER HALF OF THE EIGHTH CENTURY.

The condition of Israel may be gathered from an attentive study of the prophets who lived during this period, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah and Micah. The occupations of the inhabitants of Palestine during the earlier regal period were mainly nomadic and agricultural, and the land at that time and till the days of Isaiah was largely held by

¹ Winckler in *KAT*, p. 80; Krätzschmar in Herzog's *PRE*, vol. xii. p. 647. Sennacherib's own prism inscription, in the lines which immediately succeed the Palestinian campaign, describes his campaign (the fourth) against Shuzub the Chaldaean in the swamps of the land Bet-Yakin (col. iii. 42 foll.). This belongs to 701-700 B.C., and the fact is significant.

small peasant proprietors. But it can scarcely be said that the growth of trade and civilization and the increase of material well-being tended to improve the condition of the small peasant farmer. Palestine is favourably placed for the growth of wealth. It is the highway of commerce between Egypt and Arabia on the south, and Syria, Assyria, as well as the great emporia of commerce, Tyre and Sidon, on the north. The corn, wine, and oil of Canaan were exchanged for the manufactured products which came through the Phoenician seaports. Among the Israelite population the simplicity of nomadic and agricultural life began to give way. Towns grew up, wealth increased, and a more complex civilization began to develop, and with it a wealthy class of rich landowners. We learn from Amos iii. 15 that it was a common custom for a wealthy man to own both a summer and a winter residence. These were luxuriously equipped with divans inlaid with ivory (vi. 4). A significant passage in Isa. ix. 9, 10 informs us that in building their houses the wealthier Ephraimites abandoned the old-fashioned sycomore wood (1 Kings x. 27) for the more expensive cedar, while hewn stone was taking the place of brick. If we are to regard Isa. iii. 18-23 as actually genuine, the growth of luxury in female attire during this period is one more indication of the great increase of wealth in the eighth century, to which the prophet bears express testimony in the striking phrase 'The land is full of silver and gold' (ii. 7). But evil results in social life flowed from this accumulation of wealth in the hands of a privileged class. One of these was the aggregation of smaller landed estates into the hands of a few and the dispossession of the poverty-stricken cultivator of the soil. These wealthy landowners 'add house to house and join field to field' until there is no more room for the small peasant proprietor. These *latifundia* injured the social life of Palestine in the eighth century as much as those of Italy in the days of the *Gracchi*. The language of the prophet Amos can leave

no doubt that the small peasant was often cruelly oppressed by the wealthy landowner or the usurer who was able to bribe the judge and evict the poor man from his tenement without just cause. ‘They covet fields and seize them, and houses and take them away’ (Mic. ii. 2). The prevalence of bribery was all too clear (Mic. iii. 9–11; Isa. i. 23, v. 23). The chief engine whereby such oppression was wrought was the harsh law of usury, which allowed the exaction of interest amounting to 20 per cent., and permitted the harsh creditor to sell into slavery a debtor unable otherwise to discharge his liability. The debt might be a mere trifle amounting to a pair of sandals! (Amos ii. 6, viii. 6).

Another cause which aggravated the lot of the small cultivator was *war*. Foreign invasion meant the wholesale pillage of crops, fruit, cattle, and the wanton destruction of fruit-trees (Isa. i. 7, vii. 20, xvi. 9 foll.; Jer. v. 15–17; cf. 1 Sam. xv. 9; 2 Kings iii. 19). The inevitable result of the wars which ravaged Palestine in 735, 734–2, 724–2 B.C. would be the total ruin of the small farmer who, when confronted by absolute starvation, found voluntary servitude to be his only refuge (2 Kings iv. 1; cf. Lev. xxv. 25, 39). It is of course true that enactments existed which served to mitigate the hardships of slavery and which set certain limits to the harsh exactions of the creditor (Exod. xxii. 25 foll.; Deut. xxiii. 19). The seventh year, which brought release, was intended to have this effect, but it is extremely doubtful whether these laws were strictly applied (cf. Jer. xxxiv. 8–22), and there can be little doubt that slavery largely increased during the regal period, and its rigours became aggravated as the simple conditions of nomadic and agricultural life in the days of Saul and David were exchanged for the more elaborate civilization of the days of Ahaz and Hezekiah to which prophetic literature bears witness.

The wealth and selfish luxury of the upper classes of society brought many vices in their train—more especially

drunkenness. A vivid picture is presented to us in the oracles of Amos of the nobles of Ephraim reclining in their palaces in the fortress-city of Samaria upon beds of inlaid ivory, drinking wine in bowls and anointing themselves with the choicest of unguents while they sing idle songs to the sound of the viol (Amos vi. 4-6). Hosea describes to us how the nobles made themselves ill with the feverish glow of wine in their carousals upon the king's birthday¹ (Hos. vii. 5). Isaiah presents us with a companion picture of the protracted symposium of some of the wealthy young gallants in Jerusalem, who prolong their feast all through the day until the twilight, while the company regaled themselves with tambourine and lute (Isa. v. 11, 12).

The religion of Israel at this period was closely bound up with the worship of the high places to which so many allusions are made in the oracles of Hosea, and it may be accepted as a general principle that the features of the cultus that prevailed in the northern kingdom prevailed also in Judah, with the special exception of the calf-worship erected by Jeroboam in Beth-el and Samaria. In every high place scattered throughout Canaan Yahweh was worshipped in precisely the same manner as the local Baal, and was called by that special appellative *Baal* as the lord or owner of the sacred spot dedicated to him². He was worshipped in the form of a stone-symbol called *massebah*—an upright stone which in primitive sanctuaries was a rude unshaped block, while in the more imposing and elaborate sanctuaries it might assume the form of a stately pillar or even two pillars (as in the Jerusalem temple). In the worship of these local sanctuaries the blood or oil of the sacrifice was smeared upon the stone-

¹ The 'drunkards of Ephraim' appear to have been notorious (Isa. xxviii. 1) throughout Israel.

² This we learn from some Hebrew proper names (Baaliah &c.), as well as from a significant passage in Hosea, chap. ii. 16, 17 (18, 19 Heb.), which should be regarded as genuine.

symbol, and the flesh of the animal was eaten by the worshippers after the animal had been slaughtered at the altar. But in the case of the burnt offering ('ôlah, Kâlîl) the entire animal was consumed by fire. In the early days of the Hebrew monarchy the *sacra* of the high place were closely bound up with the old clans of Israel, so that every sacrifice at a local centre, as at Beth-lehem, became a communal clan or tribal feast, and these would be held at special seasons, as at the new moon or once a year. Instructive examples of such sacrificial clan or tribal feasts may be found in the Books of Judges and Samuel (Judges ix. 27; 1 Sam. ix. 12-25, xx. 6). But at the close of the eighth century much of this clan and tribal life had disappeared. The cultus of the high place remained in feature and type the same. The stone-symbol was there—the *ashérah* or sacred pole was there; so also the sacred tree, whether terebinth or poplar, and often the sacred spring. Moreover, the three annual festivals—especially the feast of ingathering—were celebrated as in the olden times, but the old clan and tribal life had gradually declined amid the storms and other changes affecting national life in the ninth century. In all probability some of the smaller sanctuaries had passed out of existence with the local clans which supported them. Worship thus became more national and less local and exclusive. Probably there were relatively fewer local sanctuaries in Judah, owing to the dominating position of the temple of Solomon in Jerusalem, than existed in the sister state of Ephraim, which was more subject to disintegrating tendencies and to foreign, Phoenician influence. All these slowly evolving conditions prepared the way for the Reformation in Josiah's reign which suppressed the local sanctuary and made Jerusalem the only centre of legitimate worship. The Book of Deuteronomy in its present form emerged out of that reforming movement, and the religious ideals of that code dominate the redactors of the Books of Kings, who never omit to denounce the

Israelite kings who tolerate or foster the worship of the high places. With the prophets of the eighth century it is far different. Hosea, Amos, and Isaiah clearly perceived the evils of the prevailing cultus of the high places, but they still stood at some distance from the age of Josiah, and do not censure the existence of high places but the impure character of the worship that existed there and closely approximated the character of the Canaanite cults. Hosea and Isaiah denounce Israel's *unfaithfulness* to Yahweh both in politics and religion. The unfaithfulness in *politics* was necessarily involved in any formal compact of alliance with a foreign state. These compacts were sealed by religious sacrificial rites—in other words, a *covenant*, in which the respective deities of the two nations were involved. But when, as in the case of Israel, a weaker and dependent state entered into a formal alliance with a stronger suzerain state like Assyria or Egypt, such political relationship could not fail to react prejudicially on the position and authority of Yahweh in relation to other national deities, especially when we remember how Yahweh's sphere and sovereignty were interpreted by the eighth-century prophets. Accordingly both Hosea and Isaiah emphasized the lesson of loyalty to Yahweh in political relations. Trust in Yahweh's love and power to protect His people meant in external politics that Israel should be self-contained and independent of foreign aid. Even the military use of horses and chariots, which had been long employed in Israel's wars and came into extensive use during the dynasty of the house of Omri, was also regarded as a foreign (Egyptian, Hittite, or Canaanite) importation and an act of disloyalty.

The unfaithfulness in *religion* consisted in the corruption of the primitive and simple worship of Yahweh (which Israel had derived from the early nomadic times) by the introduction of Canaanite as well as Eastern rites. Canaanite worship was sensuous in type. Its Baal and Ashtoreth *worship*, though connected with a hoary antiquity in

which the sexual element played a large part¹, was nevertheless alien to Israel's ancient Mosaic religion which gave no place to a female consort by the side of Yahweh. The male and female attendants (the *Kedēshîm* and *Kedēshôth*) who pandered to sexual passion, which had from the earliest times been connected with the cult of Baal and Ashtoreth, had become an unwholesome importation from the Canaanites into the sanctuaries of Israel. In this way Yahweh's 'holy name was polluted and profaned' (Amos ii. 7). This denunciation by the prophet Amos is directed against the northern kingdom. That it also applied to the sanctuaries of Judah is fairly clear from indications in Jeremiah (ii. 1, 2, 20-23, iii. 2, 3, 6-11, v. 8, vii. 18).

It is important for the student of Hebrew religion to draw as clear a distinction as possible between the standpoint of the Deuteronomic redactor of the Books of Kings and that of the prophets of Yahweh in the eighth century. The latter made no protest against the ancient and primitive cultus of the high places—the stone-symbol or the sacred pole, or even the use of the ephod (the plated image of Yahweh) and the teraphim (ancestral images). These formed part of the normal religious life of ancient Israel from the days of Samuel and David until Isaiah's time. Even the soothsayer is not denounced by Isaiah. He held an important position in the social life of the people from the earliest times. In the days of Saul no

¹ A subject fully expounded in Barton's *Semitic Origins*. It is significant that while Phoenician (Canaanite) has not only *El* for 'God' but also its feminine *elat* (see Lidzbarski's *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, p. 219), Assyrian its *ilu* and *iltu*, the Hebrew has only the masculine form *el*. Though we cannot infer from this, as Bährgen does, that in earliest times the Semites had no goddesses, yet he is right in noting the remarkable fact that the Hebrews had no word for 'goddess' and could only use *Elöhîm* for that purpose (1 Kings xi. 5). See his *Beiträge zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, p. 265.

war was conducted without the priest-soothsayer. Hence, in the enumeration of the chief props of the social fabric by Isaiah, the soothsayer takes his place by the side of the soldier, the judge, and the prophet (iii. 2). The legal system of Deuteronomy (B.C. 623) was far more strict (cf. Deut. xvi. 21, 22, xviii. 10-12). High place, sacred pole, and stone-symbol it laid under an interdict.

The invective of the prophet is directed against the *foreign usages*. The close of the eighth century was distracted by wars and rumours of wars. At such a time a terror-stricken people resorts to abnormal religious practices and borrows foreign rites. Ahaz was prone to the adoption of innovations in ritual (2 Kings xvi. 9, 10); and the tendency to adopt foreign modes of divination, borrowed from the Philistines and still more from the East, was denounced by Isaiah. Judah was full of Eastern sooth-saying—practices derived from Babylonia or Northern Arabia, accompanied probably by incantations in which foreign deities were invoked (ii. 6). A still more serious evil was the practice of necromancy, against which Isaiah directs his sternest rebuke (viii. 19, 20, xxviii. 18).

But the most serious evil of all was the immoral conduct of the priest and the ordinary professional order of prophets. Isaiah paints for us a revolting picture of a drunken priesthood and an intoxicated body of prophets making the sacrificial feasts scenes of their disgusting orgies, which rendered them utterly incapable of discernment and stolid in their resistance to the true words of God's messenger (xxviii. 7 foll.). It would be difficult to say which portrayal is more appalling—the picture just presented or the lurid spectacle of the murdering gangs of priests in Shechem or Gilead, who lay in wait for the pilgrims and left a track of blood behind them, which the oracles of Hosea present to us¹ (Hos. vi. 8, 9). The root

¹ Micah also charges the priest and prophet with receiving bribes (iii. 11).

of the evil lay in the utter divorce of religion and morality. The sanctuaries were crowded with worshippers and the altars loaded with offerings, while injustice and even murder went on unchecked. Religious cultus had no effect on conduct. Conduct bore no relation to religious cultus. The result was a disordered state, a diseased society. ‘The whole head was sick—the whole heart faint. From the sole of the foot even unto the head there was no soundness in it’ (chap. i. 5, 6, 11–15). The prophets of the eighth century, whose oracles have been preserved to us, were quick to perceive, or rather they instinctively realized what modern Europe only partially apprehends, that religion lies at the base of any effective morality. They would never have conceived of it as ‘morality touched with emotion,’ but as the very soul and essence of morality itself. And the only religion of which they knew, or would have cared to take cognizance, was not the conception of some dim universal metaphysical abstraction to which the conventional name ‘God’ is attached like a movable label, but the thrilling consciousness of the presence and power of a supreme personal and righteous will. On this basis they sought to reconstruct a religion which should embody ideas which would permanently quicken and inspire national morality, and thereby save the state from the disorders which threatened it with ruin.

§ 4. THEOLOGY OF ISAIAH.

The religious conceptions of Isaiah form a synthesis of the ideas of the two prophets that preceded him, Amos and Hosea. It is easy to discern his debt to both.

The teaching of Amos, as Wellhausen has clearly shown¹, was the internal correlate of the great external fact which was then absorbing the attention of Western Asia, the advance of the Assyrian power. The overthrow

¹ *Enc. Brit.*, 9th ed., article ‘Israel.’

of the Syrians (Aramaean) at the beginning of the eighth century and the rapid advance of the armies of Tiglath-Pileser towards the Palestinian states, which were threatened with vassalage or extinction, had a profoundly important bearing on the religion of those states. In those days religion and national life were closely interwoven. The clan, the tribe and the nation were cemented by the religious *sacra*, which bound each member of the clan or tribe to the clan or tribal deity and to one another in the sacrificial feasts in which each partook. Moreover, the political acts of the tribe or nation could only be carried out under the aegis of the tribal or national god. His initiative or sanction was ascertained through the priest-soothsayer. The national god was the nation's leader in war and went before its armies. Consequently, as the Assyrian inscriptions and the Moabite stone abundantly testify, the consummation of a conqueror's triumph is to carry off the national images of the conquered people and deposit them in the shrine of his own victorious deity's temple. Hence the ark of Yahweh is carried off to the Philistine Dagon's temple in the disastrous days of Eli. Thus the deity of a conquered nation lost prestige and was disrowned of might. According to ancient Semitic conceptions he could then only be regarded as a demon. The vanquished people lost faith in its god, and cast its idols, when driven from house and home, to the moles and to the bats (Isa. ii. 20, cf. xxxvii. 10 foll.), since the deity of the conquering nation was stronger than its own. If deported to another land, its *sacra* became invalid and so perished.

The popular religion in the days of Amos and Isaiah was steeped in these prevailing conceptions, for that religion was essentially local and national. What was to become of the religion of Yahweh if the oncoming tide of Assyrian invasion swept over Palestine, as Amos and yet more clearly Hosea and Isaiah foresaw? Amos solved this problem by emphasizing a truth which lay implicit in

Israel's religion, that Yahweh was more than local and national. *His sovereignty was universal.* Already the loftier minds of the Hebrew people knew Yahweh to be the creator of the world. The fragmentary old cosmogony of Gen. ii. 4^b-9 (J₁) clearly proves this, and it is impossible to regard this conception as a late Babylonian importation¹. Yet to Amos belongs the credit of having brought this truth to the forefront and made it clear to his countrymen at a momentous crisis in their history. The idea of Yahweh was freed from narrow national trammels. It was Yahweh who not only brought the Israelites out of Egypt, but also the Philistines from Caphtor and the Syrians from Kir (ix. 7). He who made the Pleiades and Orion and turns the deep midnight darkness into morning, who calls to the waters of the sea and pours them on the earth's surface (v. 8), was Lord of all the world. Thus the conception of God was established on broad imperishable foundations. And to this truth he united another yet more vital. Yahweh was a *righteous ruler*, and His fundamental claim on man was that He should be

¹ It is not possible to enter here into the endless Babel-Bibel controversy raised by Prof. Fried. Delitzsch. The conception of the universalism of Yahweh's dominion was helped by the fact that in origin Yahweh, like the Aramaic and Babylonian Rāmmān, was an atmospheric and celestial, and not a Chthonian or Earth deity. This may be shown by a multiplicity of indications. Thunder was God's 'voice,' lightning was the fire of Yahweh. Early and latter rain were His gifts. He was God of the heavenly hosts or stars which fought in the celestial highways against Sisera (Judges v. 20). His sanctuaries were on the mountains where earth and sky met. Hence He was called 'God of the mountains' by the invading Syrians (1 Kings xx. 23). The belief that His abode was heaven was no late conception, as Schwall and many other critics assume (see 1 Kings xxii. 19). It needs no detailed argument to prove that the original character of Yahweh as an atmospheric deity lent itself much more easily to the further conception of universal sovereignty. It was the later syncretism which blended Yahweh with the local Baal that obscured these primitive traits.

just¹. Amos denounces the religion of mere ceremony that ignored the claims of morality (v. 11-15, 21-24).

The scope of Hosea's teaching is narrower. His look is not so wide. While Amos surveys the dest of the Palestinian peoples, including Syria, Ammon Moab, Hosea's oracles are addressed to Israel alone. The unfaithfulness of Israel to Yahweh and the outraged love of the Divine Husband are his theme. The love of Yahweh is the dominating note in the Divine character upon which Hosea dwells—not so much His universal sovereignty and justice, though the ethical requirements of Yahweh's rule are certainly not forgotten. 'V Israel was a child I loved him' (Hos. xi. 1, cf. ix. 10). erring Israel He yearns as a husband over a faithless wife whom He seeks to restore (ii. 14, xi. 8 foll., xi. 11). The question arises: In what does this unfaithfulness consist? And the answer to this question reveals that Isaiah's debt to Hosea, though not so large a

¹ The ethical element also lay implicit in Israel's old religion. Elijah's contest with Ahab over the Naboth incident and the old legislative codes preserved in E and J prove this. It is not necessary to determine how much was Mosaic. The deities of the Semitic religions were also conservators of social order and tradition, as the Semitic proper names Berith, Baal Shafat (and Shafat Baal), Emeth Baal Lidzbarski, *Nordsem. Epigr.* i. p. 239) abundantly testify as well as the Babylonian hymns to Shamash and Marduk. So also in Greek religion we have Zeus as the conservator of the sanctity of the oath, of the hearth, of the right of strangers, &c. Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah would have had an audience for their appeals if they had not a basis in the national religious consciousness and past history on which to found them. Otherwise Hosea's 'unfaithfulness' has no meaning. Their achievement consisted in the fact that they succeeded in rescuing religion from mere ceremonialism (Amos vii. 1-5; Isa. i. 11-17) in which morality had no place, and in emphasizing and developing the ethical elements in the religion. They thereby finally achieved the task of welding religion and morals into an indissoluble whole as the means of regenerating society. This has been an end service to humanity.

debt to Amos, was nevertheless considerable. The 'faithlessness' may be summed up under three heads: (1) in *political* relations—vassalage to Assyria or alliance with Egypt, a subject already illustrated in the preceding pages. (2) In *cultus*—desertion of the primitive purity and simplicity of the worship of Yahweh by worshipping local Baals. Even the calf-worship is condemned (viii. 6, x. 6, cf. xiii. 2), and image-worship generally, as well as all approximations to Canaanite ritual (iv. 11–14, x. 1, xi. 2) and practice. (3) *Corruptions in social life*—false swearing, murder, stealing, and adultery (iv. 2).

The subjective and emotional side (summed up in the word *hesed* 'loving-kindness,' 'piety') of man's relationship to God, and the duty which he owes to his neighbour, was Hosea's contribution to the true prophet's message to Israel. It formed a necessary complement to the intellectual teaching of Amos. Both laid stress on the ethical elements in the Divine nature and the ethical requirements in true religion. Morality could no longer be divorced from religion. Yet Amos and Hosea regarded religion from distinct standpoints. To Amos, who lay stress on the universal and ethical sovereignty of God, religion was essentially righteousness. To Hosea, who lay stress on the Divine love, religion was essentially loving-kindness and duty loyally rendered.

Isaiah fused these elements into an indissoluble whole. The premiss of God's *universal sovereignty* is presupposed in his rebuke of Assyria, 'the mace' of Yahweh's wrath for the chastisement of Israel (x. 5 foll.). It is the fundamental principle of all his utterances (or 'burdens,' A. V.) against foreign peoples—Moab, Damascus, Ethiopia, Philistia. We hear the note which heralds it in the song of the seraphim in his consecration-vision: 'The earth's fullness' is the manifestation of Yahweh's splendour. Righteousness and justice are the ever recurrent theme of this prophet's ethical teaching. It is righteousness for which the prophet pleads in the opening

chapter of the collection of his oracles preserved to (i. 17). It is only by righteous conduct and just dealing that Zion can be redeemed from destruction (verse 2). It is righteousness and justice for which Yahweh waited and hoped when He sowed and tended His vineyard—Judah. But the fair fruits of righteousness were not there; instead there was the cry of the oppressed and downtrodden (v. 7). In all this we see the influence of the elder prophet Amos over the younger. In fact we have only to study Amos, chap. v, with its scathing denunciations of mere ceremonialism and stately pomp combined with unrighteous living, and then turn to Isa. i, to see how deep and far-reaching that influence was. And this impression is confirmed when we note that the ‘utterances’ of Isaiah against foreign peoples are more highly developed discourses, apparently framed on the simple and brief model of the oracles in the opening chapters of Amos.

The debt to *Hosea* is clearly discernible, though not so conspicuous. The conception of God’s character as love is apparent in the opening words of Isaiah’s oracles: ‘Sons have I reared, yet ’tis *they* who have rebelled against me.’ The conception of Divine outraged love is expressed here through the relations of fatherhood and sonship just as in Hos. xi. 1, 2. But the dominant metaphor of Hosea’s oracles reappears in the lament over the faithful city Zion now become an harlot (Isa. i. 21). Hosea’s conception of unfaithfulness to Yahweh by entering into alliances involving dependence on more powerful foreign states passed into the teaching of the great prophet of Jerusalem and determined his attitude in relation to foreign policy.

We shall now consider more fully the distinctive features of Isaiah’s teaching.

I. The *doctrine of God* unfolded by Amos is expanded and developed by Isaiah. The Divine sovereignty will tolerate no rival. While it is not possible to say that Isaiah’s monotheism is absolute in the sense that denies

all existence whatsoever to the deities of other nations, yet these occupy a secondary and shadowy existence. Their images are called 'nothings,' the work of men's hands (ii. 8, 18), and their presence in Israel's sanctuaries is not tolerated. So far Isaiah does not differ from the teaching of Amos and Hosea or transcend it. But in his conception of Yahweh as the universal righteous Judge he adds new features. In chaps. ii-v he proclaims the advent of a great 'day of the Lord which is to be a day of judgment.' As long as the storm of Assyrian invasion was still withheld from Judah, he predicts in general terms that it will come with destructive power over the land and destroy all its material splendour and break down human pride, not only the cedars of Lebanon and the oaks of Bashan, but also the high walls and towers and the stately ships of Tarshish. The destruction wrought on this day of judgment will serve to reveal that God stands alone in His supremacy of might (ii. 12-21).

To God is ascribed by Isaiah the title '*Holy One of Israel*' which frequently recurs throughout the prophet's oracles. He is acclaimed as 'Holy' in the song of the seraphs on the occasion of the prophet's consecration-vision. Into the primitive conceptions which underlie this word 'holy' in the Hebrew original we need not enter here, since they are dealt with in the note on chap. vi. 3. Stated in brief, Isaiah lifted the expression above popular usage by importing into it high ethical meanings —the moral attributes of Yahweh Himself. *Holy* connotes God's supreme exaltation combined with perfectly righteous character, whose presence could not be surveyed or approached by sinful men. The fundamental conception therefore which underlies this word, as Isaiah employs it, is *righteousness*. It is by *righteousness* Yahweh exalts and sanctifies Himself¹ (v. 16).

¹ Though these words may be a later insertion (see notes), they accurately express the mind of the prophet.

Moreover, Yahweh's nature is *spiritual*. In a notable passage the prophet asserts that God is *spirit* in contrast with the Egyptians who are but men (xxxi. 3). The idea which is involved in the word 'spirit' is moving, absolute, invincible energy as opposed to human weakness and inertness, the latter quality being especially characteristic of Egypt.

2. We shall now fittingly consider the contrasted state of human *sin* in the teaching of Isaiah. This sin in Israel assumed various forms, and might be viewed from varied aspects. In the presence of God's holiness and exalted purity it assumes the aspect of *uncleanness*. This is how Isaiah regarded himself and his own countrymen in the hour of his consecration-vision (vi. 8) :

‘In that fierce light which beats about a throne
And blackens every blot.’

But a more characteristic aspect is expressed by the word *rebellion* against Divine parental authority and solicitude—the rebellion of sons against One who is not merely Sovereign but also Father (i. 2-4). To this conception of the Divine relationship to His people and their sinful relationship to Him we have already referred. It approximates the dominating conception presented in the oracles of Hosea.

This is also expressed by the terms ‘backsliding,’ ‘forsaking of God,’ ‘estrangement’ from Him and ‘doing despite’ to Him, variant phrases which are accumulated in chap. i. 4. The modes in which this sinful conduct manifests itself are very various—the *pride* and arrogance of wealth; the military *ostentation* of horses, chariots, and fortresses (ii. 7, vii. 3; cf. xxii. 8-11). As in Amos and Hosea, one all-prevailing form of Israel's declension was *idolatry*, which in a notable passage is characterized as the most loathsome uncleanness (xxx. 22). Under the same category we might include the soothsaying borrowed from abroad, and, above all, the necromancy to which that troubled generation resorted instead of seeking the clear

light of Divine teaching (viii. 19, xxviii. 18). Chap. v contains a catalogue of prevailing vices ; the sin of drunkenness, of selfish greed of landed possession, and also bribery corrupting the administration of justice, being conspicuous among them.

3. *Faith* in God is inculcated by Isaiah as it had never been taught previously. It is a new note in prophecy, and the occasion of its proclamation by the prophet was the dramatic moment when he was confronted by the scheming politician Ahaz (vii. 3 foll.). Isaiah challenges the incredulous monarch, who relied more on the strong material support of Assyria than on the invisible might of Yahweh, and declared to him : ‘If ye will not believe, ye shall not abide secure.’ This faith in the Divine power and presence which shall protect and save His people was expressed in a name *Immanuel*, ‘God-with-us,’ and it may be regarded as the watchword of Isaiah’s message to his countrymen at this dark moment of their fortunes, when the king trusted in Tiglath-Pileser and the people resorted to the dark rites of necromancy and made ‘covenants with Sheol’ (xxviii. 15–18). This quiet ‘rest,’ this ‘refreshing’ (xxviii. 12), is compared to the waters of the Shiloah stream that softly flow (viii. 6). This faith becomes still more defined as the years roll on. Faith in God was essentially bound up with Yahweh’s dwelling-place, Zion. The symbolic names which were given to Isaiah’s children, and the very name that the prophet himself bore, were signs from ‘the Lord of Hosts who dwells in Mount Zion.’ Zion shall be preserved ; but in later days the prophet clearly asserts : ‘Behold, I have founded in Zion a stone, a stone well tested, a corner-stone of precious solid foundation’ (xxviii. 16). The following verse clearly shows that the ‘foundation’ is ethical : right and justice. This shall never be shaken, though the ‘scourge’ of Assyrian invasion pass over Judah.

4. The *eschatology* of Isaiah does not lie beyond earth’s confines or even the times in which he lived. Therein (as

we have shown in the introductory remarks to chap. xxiv) we see the contrast between Isaiah's teaching and that of Apocalyptic. The day of the Lord, the Messianic age, and the rule in righteousness of David's son do not belong to the remote future¹, for Isaiah's message was intended to be one of practical and present help. The fact that it was not historically realized by the pre-exilian Jews is but one of the many illustrations (e. g. the parousia in the first Christian century) of the foreshortening of perspective in the anticipations of prophecy.

In the early stages of Isaiah's ministry he predicted for his countrymen destructive chastisements, and a like fate was to overtake the northern kingdom (ix. 8—x. 4). The first eight chapters of our prophetic collection, nearly the whole of which consists of the genuine utterances of the prophet, are filled with denunciations of Judah's sin and of the dire punishment which will ensue. These oracles may with considerable probability be assigned to the reign of Ahaz (735–15 B. C.). Even the consecration-vision of the sixth chapter bears the impress of this time, and Cheyne is probably right in assigning to its composition the date 734 B. C. The most remarkable feature of that sublime chapter is its almost unrelieved gloom. When we turn to the LXX we find ourselves deprived even of the solace of the concluding phrase in verse 13, 'the holy seed is the stock thereof²'. The prophet's message is to produce no effect. The people are to be impervious to truth. And this barren ministry is to continue while God's chastisements are to fall, cities are to become desolate, and the land wasted. Even the remnant left after the previous calamities have done their work is to be consumed in the devouring flame.

¹ An exception might be made of ii. 2–4 if the phrase 'in the latter days' be the genuine expression of Isaiah. This brief utterance might then be considered to refer to a more remote future than the age of the prophet. But it is possible that the phrase is redactional.

² Only found in Q. marg.

But the prophet's mind did not always remain anchored in this gloomy roadstead. The conception that God was nevertheless present among His people, embodied in a name of significant potency, *Immanuel*, became the nucleus for an ever-growing hope. We are not of the opinion ingeniously set forth by Hackmann in his monograph *Isaiah's anticipations respecting the future*¹, that at the beginning of his career the prophet regarded the future of Judah with hope which passes away as his life proceeds into utter gloom, while, on the other hand, at the opening of his prophetic ministry the prophecies of destruction are all directed against Ephraim. This view, in our opinion, completely inverts the progress of Isaiah's mind and renders his attitude to Assyria in 705-1 unintelligible. The theory of Hackmann can only be sustained by wholesale excisions of inconvenient passages in Isaiah's later oracles², and by violent exegetical assumptions respecting the earlier ones.

The prophet borrowed from his Ephraimite contemporary Hosea the custom of naming his children with

¹ *Die Zukunftsverwaltung des Jesaja* (1893). According to this writer chap. vi contains a prophecy of complete destruction, not of Judah, but of Ephraim. But there is not a single indication in the chapter which would lead us to identify 'this people' in verse 9 with the northern kingdom exclusively (see Hackmann's discussion of this question, p. 72 foll.). The argument based on ix. 7-20 and xxviii. 1-4 is fallacious (see p. 75), since, as our commentary has shown, these can hardly be called 'the earliest' among the prophecies with a definite historic reference. They should be assigned to a date about nine years after 734.

² I.e. not only ix. 1-7 and xi. 1-9, but many others of which the English reader, who is not in a position to study the original monograph (in German), will find a list in Dr. Buchanan Gray's useful and discriminating article in the *Expositor*, November, 1894, p. 341. We have not space here to deal with Gauthé's more reasonable theory, which I find it impossible to accept, developed in his *Zukunftsbild des Jesaja*. The reader will find a brief summary of this theory and of others in Gray's above-mentioned article, p. 332 foll. (see also Hackmann's monograph, p. 157 foll.).

prophetic messages. Semitic names afford scope for these significant appellations. Babylonian names are often nothing but a pious wish or ejaculation¹, probably considered to have a magic potency for good.

From a very early stage of his prophetic ministry Isaiah, who himself bore a name which summed up his message and career, gave a prophetic name to his eldest son, *Sheār-yāshūb*, 'a remnant shall return,' i.e. be converted to Yahweh. It is certain, therefore, that as early as 738 B.C., or even earlier still, Isaiah had foreseen the remedial effect of discipline. The pride of Judah was to receive condign chastisement, yet all would not be lost; a remnant would survive, disciplined by suffering. Though Zion had been faithless (i. 21), and one man oppressed another (iii. 5), and dire poverty with desolation would befall all ranks of society (iii. 1-3, 6-8), yet this purifying trial would purge Zion of her dross. The judges of the land would no longer accept bribes as of old (v. 23), but would be as they were in the nobler primitive past (i. 26), and Zion would once more be called 'the city of righteousness,' 'the faithful city.'

This conversion of the 'remnant' should be connected with the special relation of Yahweh to Zion, which is probably involved in the other prophetic name 'Immanuel.' Whatever else might be destroyed, Zion should be preserved from destruction, and this immunity is connected with the special relation of Yahweh to Zion in which He dwelt and where His central and most imposing shrine stood. There (as Prof. G. A. Smith points out) 'lived... the little band of disciples to whom Isaiah committed his testimony and revelation' (cf. viii. 16 foll.).

For the present Judah's chastisements would continue. Assyria is clearly indicated as the instrument which would inflict them—the 'razor hired in the parts beyond the river' (vii. 20).

¹ See the list in Schrader, *COT.*, ii. p. 225 foll.

This seems to be all that the prophet could say by way of comfort to his countrymen in the dark days of Ahaz.

The death of Sargon and the awakening of Palestine and Egypt which resulted seem to have roused the prophet to new utterance. Now for the first time Assyria is threatened, and the prophecies respecting Zion assume a more definite form. Of this we have already spoken under (3) *Faith*, see especially chap. xxviii. 16, 17. Faith in the Holy One of Israel, who would preserve Zion and a faithful remnant amid all the storms that surrounded it, was destined to receive a signal vindication by the issue of the siege of Jerusalem in 701 B.C. Jerusalem escaped capture and Sennacherib withdrew his armies.

This exercised a profound influence both on the prophet and on later times. Its influence on the *prophet* is to be seen in the *series of Messianic utterances* that came from him, beginning with Isa. ix. 1-7 (Heb. viii. 23—ix. 6) and closing with ii. 2-4. In this last passage the great universal function of the unconquered Zion, now towering above all other hills, and the centre to which the nations flock, is celebrated in verses of serene beauty which were probably the last utterance of the prophet.

In Isa. ix. 1-7 and xi. 1-9 we have the completed portraiture of Immanuel. He is no longer a vague abstraction, but we see him now as a personality. Sennacherib's armies had withdrawn, but the danger of another attack still hovered on the political horizon. Thus the portraiture of the Messiah in ix. 1-7 is that of a Divine warrior-hero who would break the Assyrian yoke in a great battle. We have here an echo of the somewhat earlier oracle (xxx. 27-33), perhaps delivered in the very crisis of the siege, in which we learn that God would cause 'His majestic voice' to be heard, and 'display the descent of His arm in fierce wrath and the flame of devouring fire, destruction, rain-storm and hail-stones' (xxx. 30). The human instrument of this victory over Israel's foes, as we now learn, shall be a 'Prince of Peace' sitting on David's

throne, upholding his rule by justice and righteousness. The same theme is the subject of a still later oracle in which the martial traits disappear (xi. 1-9). Probably the fear of an Assyrian invasion had then quite passed, and the 'shoot of Jesse's stock' appears as the ruler of a kingdom of which the centre is God's 'holy mountain,' Zion. His rule extends its benign influence over the earth, which becomes full of the knowledge of Yahweh as the waters cover the sea, and all antagonisms are reconciled (xi. 1-9).

We have another oracle of similar tenor, but briefer, in which the rule of the Messianic king is represented as a refuge for the storm-stricken and the weary (xxxii. 1-5). It may have been conceived at a time when it was necessary to allay certain anxious forebodings respecting the future.

Throughout all these oracles there is heard one ever-recurring theme—first uttered by Amos, but permanently enforced by the more powerful personality of his successor—that the *diseased state can be saved by righteousness alone*.

'Behold, I have founded in Zion a stone, a stone well tested, a corner-stone of precious solid foundation . . . and I will make judgment the measuring line and righteousness the plummet' (xxviii. 16, 17).

Isaiah was the first of a succession of prophets (which ends with Christianity as its consummation) who taught that 'the best is still to be.' Paradise does not lie behind us. This secured him his unique position.

The events of the year 701, the deliverance of Jerusalem, so largely wrought by the prophet's discourses and personality, exercised an immense influence over the seventh century, and served to establish the higher teachings of prophecy. It actually gave rise to the false confidence of the Jewish people in the days of Jeremiah, that Jerusalem would never be captured. So deeply had Isaiah's pronouncement, that Zion was inviolable (xxix. 7, 8, &c.) because it was Yahweh's abode, sunk into the

minds of the people, that Jeremiah suffered all the dire penalties of anti-patriotism because he dared to oppose a belief that had come to be regarded as a fundamental article of faith. On Hezekiah's Reforms see note on chap. xxxvi. 7.

§ 5. CRITICAL PROBLEMS OF ISAIAH.

It has long been ascertained by the careful examination of the discourses contained in the sixty-six chapters of the Book of Isaiah that we have here rather a collection of prophetic literature, to which the name of the great prophet of Jerusalem has been appended, than the work of any single mind. Quite apart from the linguistic facts (not only individual words, but also phraseology and style) which present an irresistible body of evidence¹, a careful study of the contents clearly reveals that the entire mass of this literature is very far from being homogeneous. In Germany, from the days of Gesenius (more than eighty years ago) downwards, it has been increasingly felt that the hypothesis that different authors living in different ages wrote these discourses is the only possible solution of the complex problems presented by the literature. In Great Britain as well as America that is now the unanimous opinion of all Old Testament scholars. Without such an hypothesis to guide us we have no key to the interpretation of a considerable portion of the literature. Scientific, i. e. true historical, exegesis becomes

¹ The character of this work precludes us from dealing with Hebrew words and idioms, which can only be presented intelligibly in the original. The best authority on this subject in English is, in a compact form, Driver's *Literature of the Old Testament*, and, in fuller detail, Cheyne's *Introduction to Isaiah*. For the English reader who is not conversant with Hebrew, Driver's *Isaiah, his Life and Times* (Nisbet), will be found exceedingly useful. The facts of style and the differences which in this respect characterize different sections of the literature are there clearly presented. We have also in the course of this commentary indicated these characteristics of word, phrase, and style in the introductory remarks to the various chapters or sections.

impossible. It is this key to an intelligent appreciation of the meaning of these prophecies which the *Higher Criticism* (a term much misunderstood, especially by those who assail it) endeavours to furnish. And this hypothesis of diverse authorship in these larger collections called *Books* has been applied successfully to other books, such as the prophecies of Jeremiah, the books of the Pentateuch, and also to the Psalter, as well as to smaller collections like the prophecies of Zechariah. In all these cases, great names like Moses, David, or Jeremiah cover large collections, of which only a small portion consists of the work of the eminent personage whose name is attached to the collection.

The general results of a careful critical analysis have shown that the prophecies of Isaiah fall into two main divisions.

1. Chaps. i-xxxix.

2. Chaps. xl-lxvi, formerly called the Deutero-Isaiah; but recent criticism has made it probable that this collection falls into two portions: (a) *The Deutero-Isaiah* proper, chaps. xl-lv, all of which belong to the Exile period, i. e. 550-38 B.C., and (b) the *Trito-Isaiah*, chaps. lvi-lxvi, composed in Palestine after the return from Exile, reflecting not only the yearnings and hopes, but also the disappointed expectations of the prophet and signs of declension exhibited in the young community.

We are here concerned with chaps. i-xxxix. Those who have read the introductions to the several chapters and sections in the commentary will note the varied character of these chapters. They may be grouped thus:—

A. *Chaps. i-xii.* This collection concludes with later non-Isaianic matter. Chap. xii is a song of thanksgiving and hope in the style of the late exilian and early post-exilian literature in chaps. xl-lxxvi. This collection is made up of smaller collections of Isaianic oracles made by the prophet's disciples.

(a) Chap. i belonging to the earlier period (with possible exception of verses 27 and 28), i. e. circ. 735 B. C.

(b) Chaps. ii-v beginning with a brief Messianic poem composed at the close of the prophet's life and ending with a fragment which forms the end of a beautiful elegy, the earlier portions of which belong to another brief collection (under (d)). In this smaller group chaps. ii-iv, closing with a brief non-Isaianic fragment, was the original nucleus to which chap. v, consisting of Isaianic poems and oracles, was subsequently appended. This collection, chaps. ii-v, refers to Judah's (and Ephraim's) social condition in the time of Jotham and Ahaz.

(c) Chaps. vi-ix. 7 (6 Heb.), *The Book of Immanuel*, begins with biographical accounts of the prophet's ministry. His consecration-vision (vi), dialogue with Ahaz, and discourses connected with the Syro-Ephraimite war and the condition of Israel and Judah 735-730 B. C., closing with the prophecy respecting the Hero-King, Isa. ix. 1-7 (viii. 23-ix. 6 Heb.).

(d) Chap. ix. 8 (7 Heb.)—xi. 9 commences with an elegiac poem dealing with the sins and doom of the northern kingdom, the final strophes being preserved in chap. v; see above under (b). On this follows a series of oracles dealing with the downfall of Assyria, x. 5-34, which belong to the years 704-2. Lastly, as in the previous group (c), the series is concluded by a Messianic poem.

(e) Chap. xi. 10-16, xii later non-Isaianic extensions of the Messianic ideas of the preceding poem appended to (d).

B. Chaps. xiii-xxiii. 'Utterances' or 'oracles' (A. V. 'burdens') against foreign peoples. First among them, the long and beautiful elegy against Babylon (xiii-xiv. 23), comes from a later hand. Chaps. xv and xvi, oracle on Moab, contains on the other hand a passage from a pre-Isaianic poet adopted into the Isaianic 'utterance.' Chap. xvii, on *Damascus*, is perhaps the earliest oracle delivered by the prophet which has come down to us (circ. 736 B. C.) An *utterance on Ethiopia* (chap. xviii) follows. The

oracle on Egypt (chap. xix) consists of a series of passages of which probably only a short fragment (19-22) is Isaianic. Chap. xx is a *symbolic oracle* which consists of a warning against *Egypt* based on the events of 711 B.C. It is probably placed here as a sequence to chap. xix on account of its reference to Egypt. The oracle which follows, 'concerning the sea-desert' (xxi. 1-10), is directed against Babylon, and is evidently not the work of the prophet of Jerusalem in the eighth century, but emanates from a writer in the closing years of the Exile. The short and mysterious 'Oracle of Dumah' (verses 11, 12) probably belongs also to the Exile period; but there are almost no data on which to build a conclusion. But the closing oracle of the chapter (verses 13-17), the *utterance in the steppe*, might be even assigned to an earlier date than Isaiah, if it be not composed by Isaiah himself. Chap. xxii. 1-14, called the '*utterance of the valley of vision*' (a very obscure title), is an Isaianic denunciation of the frivolity of Jerusalem in the serious crisis of 701 B.C. (see above, p. 37). The following section (verses 15-25) consists of a narrative of the *encounter between Isaiah and Shebna* which ends in the banishment of the latter. The *utterance against Tyre* (chap. xxiii), which immediately follows, was probably written by a disciple of the prophet.

C. Chaps. xxiv-xxvii constitute an apocalyptic group of oracles of varied contents standing altogether apart from the sections that precede and follow. A careful examination of the contents and their eschatological ideas leads us to the conclusion that we have here the latest compositions in the entire literature of the Book of Isaiah. The collection is certainly not earlier than the age of Alexander the Great.

D. Chaps. xxviii-xxxii. God's great purpose concerning Zion. A series of discourses, most of which were composed by Isaiah. To the Isaianic chaps. xxviii-xxxii are appended chap. xxxiii, composed in later pre-exilian times by a disciple of the prophet. Chap. xxviii. 1-4 are

a sad plaint over the drunkards of Ephraim and the doom of Samaria belonging to the date 724 B. C. (circ.). Verses 7-22 contain a denunciation by Isaiah of priests and prophets who disgraced the Lord's sacrificial feasts by intoxication. Verses 23-29, the Divine husbandry and its varied processes. Chap. xxix deals with the dire peril of Jerusalem and the impending siege (verses 1-7). The prophet denounces the dull unintelligent mind of his countrymen and the shallow spirit of the rulers (8-21). The concluding verses (22-24) are added by a later writer. Chap. xxx. 1-7, denunciation of Yahweh's rebellious sons and of the Egyptian alliance. To this there naturally follows another 'utterance' (A. V. 'burden') respecting the beasts of the south country—the desert which the Jewish emissaries to Egypt would have to traverse. Verses 18-26, a sudden transition from threatening to promises of Divine mercy. The Isaianic origin of this section is doubtful. On the other hand, verses 27-33 are evidently from the hand of Isaiah. Chap. xxxi, another denunciation by the prophet of the Egyptian alliance. Verses 6-8 are a didactic addendum by an Isaianic disciple. Chap. xxxii. 1-8, Messianic passage parallel to xi. 1-9 respecting the righteous King. Then follows (verses 9-14) a denunciation of the frivolous ladies of Jerusalem, composed probably at a considerably earlier time, probably during Sargon's reign or even before. On the other hand, verses 15-20, a brief Messianic fragment, belongs to the close of Isaiah's life. Here the genuine writings of the prophet, in this collection of prophecies, end.

Chap. xxxiii may be regarded as an addendum to the preceding group. It presupposes the events of the invasion of Hezekiah's territory by Sennacherib. There is much in this chapter that reminds us of the style and diction of Isaiah, and it is therefore probable that there was an oracle of Isaiah lying at the base of it, worked over by a disciple (so Ewald) or by some other living at

the close of the seventh century. Verses 14-16 probably come from a post-exilian writer.

E. *Chaps. xxxiv and xxxv* are clearly non-Isaianic. The strong apocalyptic colouring of chap. xxxiv clearly shows that it is a late composition. Both here and in chap. xxxv we note the influences of Ezekiel and *Trito-Isaiah*. In chap. xxxiv. 13 foll. observe the impress of Isa. xiii. 21, 22. A judgment of Divine wrath is to visit all nations, especially Edom. To this a beautiful poem, (chap. xxxv) with Deutero-Isaianic echoes, is added celebrating the return from Exile. We may probably assign both these chapters to a later post-exilian period.

F. *Chaps. xxxvi-xxxix* form an historical appendix added probably for the convenience of the Jewish reader who wished to have at hand a narrative of the stirring episodes of Sennacherib's invasion of Palestine, the siege of Jerusalem and its escape from capture—events in which the personality of the prophet played so conspicuous a part. Accordingly excerpts were made from 2 Kings xviii. 13, 17 foll.—xx. 19, and into these was inserted (between 2 Kings xx. 11 and the following verse) a song celebrating Hezekiah's recovery from his illness, Isa. xxxviii. 9-20. This evidently comes from another late source, and has the appearance of being an old Psalm like Hab. iii inserted into the prophecy. These excerpts from 2 Kings have an interesting parallel in Jer. iii, which is a duplicate of 2 Kings xxiv. 18—xxv. 30.

The question now arises : How were these different groups, A, B, C, &c., combined into a whole ? We have comparatively few data to guide us.

Which of the collections were the earliest ? Here analogies and strong probabilities open the path for us. The earlier collections in the book probably came first, and to these the subsequent collections were successively added. We may adopt this as a general principle. Thus in the entire collection of canonized Hebrew literature the *Torah* formed the first Canon, the *Prophets* (Priores

and *Postiores*) the second Canon, and the *Hagiographa* the last in order, and this order of chronological succession is the order in which they stand in our Hebrew Bible. Similarly in the Psalms, the first book, Pss. i-xli, contains the earlier Psalms and was the earliest collection (with the probable exception of Pss. i and ii which were attached later). On the other hand, Books IV and V were the latest collections of all in the Psalter and are naturally placed at the end. But we can only follow this as a general principle, not as a rigid rule.

Thus A (chaps. i-xii), which consists of smaller groups or collections, formed the first instalment constituting the nucleus of the great Isaianic library. And it contains a larger proportion of genuinely Isaianic matter than any other collection, and contains his most important oracles. It may have been current as a collection in the early post-exilian period.

The next collection, xiii-xxiii, consists of a series of oracles headed by the significant editorial term 'utterance' (A. V. 'burden'). We find the same editorial term employed in the Deutero-Zechariah (ix. 1, xii. 1) as well as in Nahum, Habakkuk, and Malachi. Now Stade has shown that the Deutero-Zechariah (Zech. ix-xiv) probably belongs to the early Greek period. Consequently 300 B.C. would not be too early a date for this collection. Did this collection include the strange apocalyptic group xxiv-xxvii? This seems very questionable. On the other hand, it is by no means improbable that it also included the following collection xxviii-xxxv, or that the latter came very soon to be attached to this preceding series of utterances. Two indications seem to point to this conclusion: (1) chap. xxviii has no heading as we might expect, (2) in chap. xxx. 6 we find the same characteristic editorial heading 'utterance' ('burden'). Consequently the same editorial influences seem to have been at work in this collection as in the previous series xiii-xxiii. How then came the separate group xxiv-xxvii to occupy its

position between these two groups? It is very difficult to answer this question: These chapters obviously bear relation whatever to the oracles which precede or follow them. They are, as we shall see (in the Introduction prefaced to the commentary), the compositions in the entire Book of Isaiah. They seem to have been inserted between the prophecy on Tyre and the denunciation of doom against Samaria (because there was no other suitable place for it). Cheyne's solution of the problem of these enigmatic chapters, that Alexander's conquest of Tyre is referred to in xxv. 2, xxvi. 5, may afford the key to the answer to the question why these chapters succeed chap. xxi. since that chapter is an oracle directed against Tyre, and prophesies its destruction.

At what time chaps. xxxvi-xxxix were added to the previous collection i-xxxv, it is certainly difficult, if not impossible, to determine with our present information. Duhm considers that this was done by the same person who redacted chaps. i-xxxv, consequently not long before the compilation of that collection.

For a very long time chapters xl-lxvi must have existed as a separate collection of prophecies. This is clear from 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22 foll., in which the passage Isa. xli (that Cyrus would cause the temple to be built) is treated as the word of Jeremiah. The so-called Deutero-Isaiah (xl-lxvi) must at that time (circ. 300 B.C.) have regarded as a body of literature standing quite apart from the Isaianic collection or collections which existed.

On the other hand, in Ecclesiasticus or Wisdom of ben Sira or son of Sirach, xlviii. 23-25, we read respecting Hezekiah that he—

Was strong in the ways of David his father,
Which Isaiah the prophet commanded,
Who was great and faithful in his vision.
In his days the sun went backward,

And he added life to the King (Isa. xxxviii. 4-8).

He saw by an excellent spirit that which should come to pass at the last;

And he comforted them that mourned in Zion' (cf. Isa. xl. 1, lxx. 1-3).

Assuming 180 B. C. as an approximate date for Ecclesiasticus; we can see from the above quotation that by that time the entire collection of the Book of Isaiah (chaps. i-lxvi) had been formed, and it had long been assumed that the discourses in chaps. xl-lxvi were addressed by Isaiah of Jerusalem to those that would mourn in Zion in the coming days of the Exile. In other words, chaps. xl-lxvi had long been added to the book. This must have been done at some time between 300 and 200 B. C.

The Book of Isaiah occupies the first place among the *Prophetæ Posterioræ* in all our modern editions of the Hebrew Bible, as it does in the oldest Hebrew MS., the Codex Petropolitanus 916 A. D., and this, we gather, was the place assigned to it in the Jewish canon of the third and fourth century A. D., from the testimony of Origen and of Jerome (in *Prologus Galeatus*). But we have clear indication that in earlier times the traditional order was different. In the Talmudic treatise *Baraitha Baba Bathra*, fol. 14^b, there is a reference to the fact that the order at one time was Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah, Minor Prophets, which is still preserved in several German and French MSS. In the LXX Isaiah follows the Minor Prophets and precedes Jeremiah.

§ 6. BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS RESPECTING THE PROPHET ISAIAH, CHARACTERISTICS OF HIS STYLE, AND THE PROBABLE ORDER OF HIS DISCOURSES.

The only trustworthy facts about the life of the great prophet of Jerusalem are to be derived from the Book of Isaiah itself. His name Isaiah signifies 'Help (or Deliverance) of Yahweh,' or, as Sabaean proper names seem to indicate, 'Yahweh has helped' (or delivered). It is by no

means certain that this was his original name. It may have been subsequently assumed by the prophet in reference to his mission, as a sign like the names which he bestowed on his sons Sheār-yāshūbh, 'remnant shall return' (or be converted), and Maher-shalal-hash-baz, 'hasten-spoil-speed-booty' (cf. viii. 18 note). He was the son of Amōs, not to be confused with the prophet Amos, as Greek writers like Clemens Alexandrinus (*Stromat.* i. 327) have done, owing to their ignorance of Hebrew and its sibilants. We know from chaps. vii and viii that Isaiah was married and was the father of several sons. His ministry began in the closing year of Uzziah's life (740–39 B.C., vi. 1). His prophetic calling must therefore have been exercised for more than forty years, and extended over the reigns of Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah. Whether he actually survived the last-mentioned king is uncertain. The later legend that he was sawn asunder in the reign of Manasseh implies that he did. This legend appears to underlie Heb. xi. 37, and finds an echo in the 'Ascension of Isaiah,' a Jewish apocalypse in Christian framework belonging to the second century A.D. We also find it in Epiphanius's so-called *Lives of the Prophets*¹. Further details respecting the prophet's life and work are not necessary, since they are given under § 2.

With reference to the *style of the prophet's diction* no one will question Canon Driver's dictum: 'Isaiah's poetical genius is superb.' Probably no ancient Hebrew writer—not even the author of the speeches of Yahweh in Job xxxviii—xlvi. 6—possessed a greater faculty of imagination or had a more instinctive perception of the power of words. 'Every word from him,' says Dillmann, 'kindles, stirs and strikes its mark.' The descriptions are simple and natural, never overlaid with detail or

¹ See 'Chrestomathy' in Nestle's *Short Syriac Grammar* in Portae Linguarum Orientalium Series (H. Reuther, Carlsruhe and Leipzig, 1881), p. 53.

artificial. The consummation of art in artlessness is fully attained by Isaiah. Compare the simple sublimity of the consecration-vision in Isa. vi with the corresponding consecration-vision and its complex elaboration of wheels and living creatures in Ezek. i. The former occupies seven verses in the recital, the latter twenty-five. Specially remarkable is Isaiah's command of powerful metaphor. He is especially fond of the metaphors of flood, storm, and sound. Cf. viii. 8, 'And it shall pass over unto Judah flooding and coming over, reaching as far as the neck' (similarly x. 22, xxviii. 17, and xxx. 28); so also in xxx. 30, Yahweh 'will display the descent of his arm in fierce wrath and the flame of devouring fire, destruction, tempest of rain, and hail-stones.' As an example of vivid description we would cite the close of the great strophic poem ix. 8—x. 4, verses 25–30. The closing verses descriptive of the advance of a conquering and destroying Assyrian army will be found above, § 2, p. 15. A fine illustration of the power of sound in Isaiah's vocabulary will be found in xvii. 12. Isaiah is also prone to use alliterations and punning assonances, e. g. v. 7 (on which see note). There is a fine balance and even rhythmic flow in his sentences which the student is best able to appreciate when he uses Duhm's valuable commentary (in German), where the rhythmic form is more clearly indicated by the rendering than in any other recent commentary. In addition to these leading general characteristics, we will specify certain particulars whereby the Isaianic oracles may be discriminated from the other later discourses contained in the Book of Isaiah.

- (a) Allusions to idolatry, necromancy and foreign practices of divination.
- (b) References to Assyria as the dominant and threatening military power.
- (c) Denunciation of Egypt as a delusive support and a pretentious fraud.
- (d) Denunciation of the social sins of self-aggrandize-

ment of the powerful at the expense of the poor and weak... Denial of justice to the oppressed. Distortion of justice through bribery.

(e) Yahweh designated as the 'Holy One of Israel,' and the people's true stay and refuge.

(f) Ceremonialism rebuked and also pride and self-exaltation in material prosperity.

(g) Day of the Lord announced as a destructive ordeal through which the nation must pass and only a purified remnant will survive.

The following is approximately the chronological order of the genuine Isaianic oracles. In some cases we have very few data, if any, to guide us.

- Chap. ii. 6-21, 739 B.C.
- " xvii on Damascus, probably 736 B.C.
- " i. 1-26, 735 B.C. rather than 701 B.C., when the tone of the prophet was more hopeful.
- " vii. 1-viii. 18, 735-31 B.C.
- " vi, which refers to the prophet's call in 740 B.C. (Uzziah's death-year), was probably composed about 734 B.C.
- " v. 1-24, circ. 730 B.C. (?).
- " iii. i.-iv. 1 may belong to the period 730-25 B.C.
- " xxxii. 9-14 might be assigned to the same period.
- " ix. 8-x. 4; v. 25-30, 726 B.C.
- " i. 29-31 refers to northern kingdom probably about 725 B.C.
- " xxviii. 1-4, 724 B.C. (circ.).
- " viii. 19-22 might either belong to 735, like the preceding verses, or to any time between 725 and 715.
- " xxviii. 7-13 might be assigned to some time between 724 and 715.
- " xxviii. 14-20 may be conjecturally referred to 713 B.C.
- Chaps. xv and xvi are an earlier oracle in reference to Moab composed by an unknown writer and employed by Isaiah 713-11 B.C.

Chap. xx, 711 B. C.

- „ xxii. 15-25, 705 B. C.
- „ xiv. 24-27 and 28-32, 705-4 B. C.
- „ x. 5-27, 705-4 B. C.
- „ xxix. 1-21 } 703-2 B. C.
- „ x. 28-32 } 703-2 B. C.
- „ xvii. 12-14, xviii. } 702 B. C.

Chaps. xxx and xxxi }

Chap. xxii. 1-14, 701 B. C.

- „ xxi. 13-17, its chronological position a quite unsolved problem ; it might be either an early or late oracle of the prophet.

After 701 B. C. we may place the Messianic passages in the following probable order : ix. 1-7 ; xi. 1-9 ; xxii. 1-8 ; 15-20 ; [xix. 19-22] ; iv. 2-4 and ii. 2-4.

§ 7. RECENT IMPORTANT COMMENTARIES AND AIDS TO THE STUDY OF ISAIAH.

First among these should be placed Cheyne's *Commentary*, 2 vols. (third edition, 1884). This is a mine of well-sifted information and valuable exegetical help, but it does not furnish the latest views of the writer. These will be found in his *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah* (1895, A. & C. Black), a work of immense, careful research into the minute details of a critical study of the individual oracles of the prophet. It is a monumental work with which no advanced student can dispense. Cheyne also contributes the volume on Isaiah to the *SBOT*. series, which will be found very useful.

Of equal importance to the student conversant with German is Duhm's *Das Buch Jesaia*, contributed to Nowack's *Hand-Kommentar* series (1892—a second edition in 1902 contains no material alterations). This is perhaps the most valuable commentary that has appeared in Germany since the days of Ewald. Though many of the writer's conclusions as to the date of Isaiah's oracles

appear to the present writer extreme¹, and his views respecting the looseness of the canonical framework of the prophets are scarcely tenable, yet this work remains the most notable as well as original contribution to the study of Isaiah of recent times. Duhm has devoted special attention to the metrical form of the oracles, and his restorations of text as well as critical conclusions as to authorship are frequently based thereon. Keen insight, a fine literary sense, rare combination-talent and a pungent, racy humour (especially when the views of Dillmann are under discussion) combine to make this volume one of the most illuminating as well as attractive that a Hebrew student can possess.

Dr. Karl Marti's Commentary (in German), contributed to another series (1900), is a compact and lucid work. The matter is well arranged. Though the materials are clearly presented and the best sources of information consulted, the work can scarcely make claim to originality. The author's conclusions are more advanced than those of Duhm (e.g. with respect to ix. 1-7, xi. 1-9, xxxii. 1-8, as well as ii. 2-4). It is, however, easy to see that the work is very largely influenced by Duhm and, in a less degree, by Cheyne and Hackmann. Dillmann's Commentary on Isaiah² (the fifth edition in the *Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch* series) is conservative in its treatment of Isaiah, as we might expect from the veteran scholar who to the last remained unconvinced by Kuenen's and Wellhausen's views respecting the date of the Priester-codex. Dillmann is on the whole a safe as well as learned guide. The most recent and best ascertained

¹ e. g. chaps. xxiv-xxvii placed as late as 128 B. C.; chap. xxxiii in 162 B. C.; chaps. xxxiv and xxxv in the days of John Hyrcanus. Respecting chaps. xv, xvi, and xix, as well as other sections, see the commentary.

² Published in 1890, an entirely new work superseding the fourth edition by Diestel (1872), which again in its turn took the place of the earlier editions of Knobel's Commentary.

results of archaeology are always utilized. His critical judgment is uniformly sound, though slow to move. Since Dillmann's death the work has been edited afresh by Kittel (1898), whose views respecting the date and authorship of some of the sections are more advanced than those of his predecessor. There can be no question that the last edition is a considerable improvement on the fifth, and is an indispensable aid to the O. T. scholar.

The earlier German commentaries on Isaiah—those of Gesenius, Ewald (in the *Prophets of the Old Covenant*), Hitzig, and Delitzsch (Franz)—it is not necessary to characterize. This has been done with some completeness by Cheyne in his Commentary (third edition, 1884), vol. ii. p. 277 foll.

Among recent English works devoted to Isaiah the student should take note of Skinner's Commentary (in the 'Cambridge Bible for Schools'), scholarly and compact, always characterized by a well-balanced judgment on critical questions, and especially useful as an exposition of the theological conceptions of the prophet.

Driver's *Isaiah, His Life and Times* is a very vivid and clear presentment of the history of the period, illustrated by citations from the Assyrian annals and the oracles of the prophet, of which excellent translations are given. A full description is given of the literary work of the prophet, and a very complete delineation of his style is furnished for the ordinary English reader. For the preacher and homiletic student Geo. Adam Smith's *Isaiah*, 2 vols. (Hodder and Stoughton), is a most eloquent and quite unique book of really priceless value. Few works published in recent years have been awarded a heartier welcome. Every page is rich in suggestion for the scholar as well as the preacher. We have found it impossible to quote such a book, as the process once begun would have easily ended in expanding the present work to an excessive size. The same writer's article 'Isaiah' in Hastings' *DB.* will be found very useful

and characterized by sound judgment. See also Bennett and Adeney's useful *Biblical Introduction*.

Among other accessory aids Schrader's *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, 2 vols. (Williams and Norgate), will be found indispensable by the more advanced student. It contains quotations in transcribed Assyrian from all the cuneiform documents which throw light on the Old Testament. These are quoted and commented upon *seriatim* in connexion with each O. T. passage in the order in which it stands in the successive books of the Hebrew Canon. This work was originally published in German in 1882 and the English translation in 1885-8. The new edition (third) of the German work by two brilliant specialists, Winckler and Zimmern, is on a totally different plan. Cuneiform documents are not cited in connected passages, and the work is no longer a commentary on the Old Testament, but a systematic exposition of Assyrian and West-Asian History (by Winckler), and of Babylonian religion and philology (by Zimmern) with special regard to their bearings upon the Old Testament (as well as on the Apocrypha and New Testament). In Winckler's treatment his own special theories acquire considerable prominence.

APPENDIX I

THE ASSYRIAN EPONYM CANON.

No more important documents exist in the British Museum than a set of terra-cotta tablets brought over by Layard and other explorers from Nineveh. Our veteran Assyriologist, the late Sir Henry Rawlinson, was the first to explain their contents in a series of articles which he contributed to the *Athenaeum* in 1862. He there showed that these tablets were lists of Assyrian officials, each official standing to represent a particular year, in the same way as the pair of consuls at Rome or the *archōn epōnumos* at Athens. Thus the particular year in which an event happened is marked by the name of the official who was eponym, i. e. gave his name to the year. The eponymate was called in Assyrian by the technical name *limu*. The late George Smith wrote a useful work on this subject called *The Assyrian Eponym Canon*, containing transcriptions and translations of these lists. These may be found in Schrader's *COT.*, vol. ii. pp. 178-95, and *KIB.*, i. pp. 204-15. An examination of the lists shows that there was a more or less regular series of officials appointed as eonyms. The series naturally began with the king, whose eponymate, however, does not necessarily come at the very beginning of his reign. Next to the king came the *Turtanu* or 'Tartan' (Isa. xx. 1), or commander-in-chief. Then came the *rab-ēkali* or chief of the palace (King's chamberlain). After him came an officer called *tukultu*. Then followed apparently the provincial or town governors. After the list of officials was exhausted the series recommenced. Four copies of these *canons* of rulers have been preserved in a more or less mutilated condition. But fortunately they supplement one another's defects. In this way we possess an unbroken series of annual eonyms extending over two

centuries (892 B.C. to 666 B.C., near the close of the Assyrian empire).

But the question arises: How are these dates determined? And how are they identified with each respective annual eponym? Fortunately we possess, in addition to the mere lists of eponym officers, other lists of the same individual names, coupled with memoranda, recording in brief some event, as a campaign, revolt, or pestilence, which occurred in a particular year. Now one of these brief memoranda is of quite unique importance, since it enables us to settle the chronological sequence and identify the eponym year. This brief memorandum runs thus in the translation:—

‘Pur-(ilu-)Sagali of the land Gozan. Insurrection in the city Ashur. In the month Sivan the sun was eclipsed.’

Now this eclipse has been calculated by the English astronomer Mr. Hird to be that which took place on June 15, 763 B.C. It was a remarkable total eclipse which passed over Nineveh and Western Asia. Not improbably the prophet Amos, who was an attentive observer of natural phenomena (Amos v. 8, viii. 8, ix. 6), makes a subtle allusion to it in viii. 9.

The importance of this identification of the eponymate of Pur-il-Sagali with the year 763 B.C. is at once obvious. The entire unbroken series of annual eonyms with their accompanying events can now be determined with as much chronological precision as any event of modern times. It must be remembered that these clay tablets are contemporary or nearly so with the events to which they refer, unlike the biblical documents, which were not only often redacted, but were also in many cases drawn up long after the events to which they refer. On the other hand, the Assyrians, like the Babylonians, were very careful in the marking of events. We frequently meet with such expressions as ‘in my fifth campaign’ or ‘in the eponymate of N. N.’ in the royal Assyrian

annals. Accordingly by comparing these notes of time with the Eponym canon we can absolutely fix nearly every occurrence into the chronology of the period. But this is not all. These events are contemporary, sometimes identical, with those which are recorded in the Bible, e.g. the capture of Samaria, the invasion of Palestine by Sennacherib, &c. Now on a previous page we have shown how frequently errors have crept into the biblical chronology. Consequently we have in the Assyrian Eponym canon an invaluable corrective which, in conjunction with the other Assyrian records, enables us to reduce the Hebrew chronology to something approaching exactness. To illustrate this we cite the Eponym lists for 734 and 733 B.C.

Thus in the lists of Eonyms we read, on the reverse col. v, the following names for these two years:

[734 B.C.] Bēl-dan-an.

[733 B.C.] Ashur-dan-in-an-ni.

but in the lists with additional memoranda we read in these years:

[734 B.C.] Bel-dan-an of the city Kalah—To the land Pilista (Palestine).

[733 B.C.] Ashur-dan-in-an-ni of the city Mazamūa—To the land Damascus.

The year 734 was the year in which Tiglath-Pileser's armies invaded Palestine and overthrew Pekah. In the following year he overthrew Rezin of Damascus.

APPENDIX II

HEBREW CHRONOLOGY.

The Hebrew chronology of the eighth century B.C. is, as we have already seen, encompassed with difficulties, especially in the latter half of that century. In order to bring the chronology of the Israelite kings from the days of Menahem to those of Pekah and of the contemporary

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

CONTEMPORARY EVENTS.	ISR
735. Syro-Ephraimite War.	Jeroboam I
734-2. Invasion of Ephraimite kingdom by Tiglath-Pileser III and conquest of its northern provinces, Damascus overthrown, Pekah slain, and King Hoshea installed.	Zechariah Shallum Menahem, Pekahiah, 7 Pekah, 735- Hoshea, 73
722. Capture of Samaria by Sargon.	Close of the nortl with capria, 722-1
720. Battle of Raphia and defeat of Sevah (Shabi) by Sargon.	
711. Conquest of Ashdod by Sargon.	
704. Embassy of Merodach-Baladan to Hezekiah.	
701. Invasion of Judah by Sennacherib.	
625. Beginning of Jeremiah's prophetic ministry.	
607. Destruction of Nineveh.	
593. Beginning of Ezekiel's prophetic ministry.	

¹ Note the *interreg* (comp. Probably time before Assyria's was accepted as their king)

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE (*continued*)

JUDAH.	ASSYRIA.	EGYPT.
Uzziah, 790-739.	Shalmaneser III, 783-773.	
Jotham, conjoint reign, 754-739.	Asshur-dân III, 773-755.	
Jotham, sole reign, 739-735.	Asshur-nirâri, 755-745.	
Ahaz, 735-715.	Tiglath-Pileser III, 745-727.	
Hezekiah associated with Ahaz, 726-715.	Shalmaneser IV, 727-722.	Twenty-third Dynasty. Middle and Lower Egypt divided among twenty petty rulers (of Libyan origin).
Hezekiah's sole reign, 715-687.	Sargon, 722-705.	Twenty-fourth Dynasty (Saitic) Bocchoris.
[Hezekiah's illness, 704.]	Sennacherib, 705-681.	708-6. Twenty-fifth Dynasty Shabako (Ethiopian).
Manasseh, 687-641.	Esar-haddon, 681-668.	
Amon, 641-639.	Asshur-bani-pal, 668-626.	
Josiah, 639-608.	Downfall of Assyria and foundation of NEW BABYLONIAN EMPIRE.	
Jehoiāhaz, 608-7 (three months).	Nabo-palassar, king of Babylonia, 625-605.	
Jehoiakim, 607-597.	Nebuchadrezzar (Nebuchadnezzar), 605-562.	691. Tîrhākah (Tahar-ko, Assyr. Tarķu).
Jehoiachin, 597.	Evil-Merodach (Amil-Marduk), 562-560.	609. Pharaoh Necho, 2 Kings xxiii. 29.
Zedekiah, 597-587(6).	Nergal Sharezer, 560-556.	588. Apries (Uâh-eb-rê) or Pharaoh Hophra.
The Jewish kingdom ends with the capture of Jerusalem in 587-6, and with the flight and capture of Zedekiah (2 Kings xxv. 3; Jer. iii. 6).	Nabonidus, 556-538 (Nabû-nâid).	
550-536. To this period in the Exile belongs the Deutero-Isaiah (xl-lv).	Capture of Babylon by Cyrus II, 538.	
Return from Exile, 536.		

Judean kings into harmony with the results of Assyriology, it became necessary to compress the reign of Pekah from twenty years to about three or four. Fortunately the researches of Winckler, based on the discovery of the Senjirli inscription, have rendered it probable that the Azariah mentioned in the mutilated inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser as leader of the confederacy of Hamathite states is *not* to be identified with the biblical Azariah (Uzziah). Consequently it becomes no longer necessary to assume that he was an active ruler in 738 B.C. This considerably relieves the chronological tension which formerly ensued in Judean history from which Kamphausen's scheme and that adopted by the present writer (in Schrader, *COT.*, ii. p. 320 foll.) suffered. In the scheme now appended we have adopted the conclusions of Winckler and Rost (*KAT.*³, p. 320) so far as they affect the reigns extending from the accession of Amaziah to that of Ahaz, 798-735, and the contemporary period in the northern kingdom. But, as we have already indicated, we differ from Winckler's conclusions respecting the chronology of the reigns of Ahaz and Hezekiah. We also differ from that chronology in the regal period preceding the reign of Amaziah given in *KAT.*³, *ibid.*

**THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET
ISAIAH**

REVISED VERSION WITH ANNOTATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS

- DB.* Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible.* *O.T.* *Old Testament.*
- COT.* Schrader's *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, based on the second edition of the German work (*KAT.*²).
- KAT.*³ The third edition of Schrader's *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, by Winckler and Zimmern.
- KIB.* Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vols. i-vi.
- ZATW.* Stade's *Zeitschrift für Altestamentliche Wissenschaft.*
- Enc. Bibl.* *Encyclopaedia Biblica.*
- SBOT.* *Sacred Books of the Old Testament.*
- i, ii, &c. Rawl. refers to Rawlinson's *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia* in successive volumes.
- J. Yahwistic writer in the Hexateuch.
- E. Elohistic writer in the Hexateuch.
- I. Isaiah's writings.
- R. Redactor.
- Ex. Exilian writer. PE. Post-exilian writer.
- A.V. Authorized English Version.
- R.V. Revised English Version.
- RS.*² *Religion of the Semites* (Robertson Smith), second edition.
- PRE.*³ Herzog's *Realencyclopädie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche* (third edition).
- LOT.*⁴ Driver's *Literature of the Old Testament* (sixth edition).
- Is.¹ Isaiah's biography.
- Is.² Later biography of Isaiah.

THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET ISAIAH

[R] THE vision of Isaiah the son of Amoz, which he 1

CHAPS. i-xii. FIRST COLLECTION OF ISAIAH'S ORACLES.

Chap. i. *Indictment of Judah for disobedience.*

i. 1. The words of this first verse are the editorial title added to the collection of Isaiah's prophecies. As they now stand before us, this first verse is introductory to the entire collection contained in this book; but this was not its original function, as an examination of the contents of the verse clearly shows. For the scope of the prophecies is here limited to **Judah and Jerusalem**, but when we turn to the series of 'burdens' (or 'utterances') respecting the destinies of the varied cities and states contained in chaps. xiii-xxiii, the inadequacy of the title which restricts the subject of the oracles to the Southern Palestinian Kingdom becomes at once manifest. Accordingly we are driven to the conclusion that this superscription or title was originally intended to refer to the much smaller collection of Isaianic prophecies contained in chaps. i-xii; chap. xii being a poetic epilogue probably composed in much later times (see notes on that chapter). To this smaller collection the superscription forms an adequate descriptive preface or title, though in the oracle, chaps. ix. 8—x. 4, v. 25-30, the denunciations of the prophet are also directed against the Northern Kingdom of Ephraim. But even this small collection is made up of still smaller ones. Chaps. ii. 1—iv. 6 commence with an introductory title and close (as they begin) with a bright poem respecting the religious future of Zion; while chaps. vi—ix. 6 not improbably form another smaller group.

Various considerations of language strongly militate against the Isaianic authorship of this verse. Among these we may note that the Hebrew word for 'vision' (*hăeón*) is a term belonging to later Hebrew literature, and is employed to designate a collection of oracles. In this technical sense it is employed in the superscription to the oracles of Obadiah and Nahum (Obad. i. 1; Nahum i. 1). Another detail is the expression 'Judah and Jerusalem.' Isaiah in his own language (iii. 1, 8; v. 3) reverses the order. When we compare this verse with the similar headings

saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem, in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah.

of other prophecies (Jeremiah, Hosea, Amos), it is clearly seen to be editorial.

Ewald in his commentary on the *Prophets of the Old Covenant* calls this opening chapter 'The great arraignment,' and this correctly describes the general contents. The accusation convicts Israel of faithlessness and ingratitude (verses 2, 3), as well as obstinate folly in the face of the heaviest chastisements (4-9). The prophet then rebukes the utterly false conceptions of religion which laid stress on externals; abundance of sacrifices, frequent festivals and crowds in the temple-courts, while the heart was evil and the hands blood-stained. Cleansing of the life from evil deeds, justice and mercy are God's supreme requirements (10-17). It is impossible under the actual moral conditions to expect acquittal before God's tribunal. The only path to national safety and prosperity lies through obedience to God's will (18-20). Then follows a lament over the degenerate city unfaithful to its past, given over to bribery, and neglectful of the claims of justice and mercy (21-24). Yet better days are coming, the restoration of the good old times. The city will become purified, and its rulers will be righteous once more in their dealings (25-28). Repentance and shame for the old heathenish practices in groves and under terebinths will be wrought in the mind of the people by the stern and consuming discipline of national calamity (29-31).

A close examination of this chapter reveals that it is not a homogeneous unity composed at one and the same time. This was indeed perceived as long ago as 1780 by Koppe; but Cornill carries disintegration too far when he divides the chapter into four separate utterances (verses 2-3, 4-9, 10-17, and 18-31), and maintains that the connecting links consist of certain key-words or phrases such as 'Sodom' and 'Gomorrah' in verses 9 and 10, and 'sons' ('children') in verses 2 and 4¹. For the recurrence of phrases is a well-known feature of Hebrew style in continuous passages, and therefore affords us no satisfactory criterion of independence or separateness in the passages (cf. the Psalms of degrees, especially Ps. cxxi). A more trustworthy though hardly certain indication consists in the metre (i.e. number of accented syllables), upon which Duhm bases his critical conclusions. Both form and contents point to the integrity of the entire section (verses 2-17). To what historical circumstances do they refer? About this opinions have been divided. The older commentators (Gesenius, Delitzsch, and Dillmann) argued for the date 735 B.C.,

¹ *Zeitschrift für Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* (designated by the cipher ZATW.), 1884, p. 84 foll.

[I] Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth, for the LORD :

when Jerusalem, in the days of Ahaz, was beleaguered by the united forces of Ephraim and Aram. The last-named critic argued that the severe denunciations of social oppression and acts of violence on the part of the rich and powerful (verses 15 and 17) are more in the style of the older discourses of Isaiah v. 7 foll., x. 1 foll., and are better suited to the degenerate times of Ahaz than to the reign of the upright and faithful Hezekiah. On the other hand, it has been doubted whether the social condition of Judah at the close of the eighth century varied much from that which prevailed in the days of Ahaz, while the description of the isolation of Zion as 'like a booth in a vineyard or a lodge in a cucumber field' is better suited to the desperate crisis of 701 B.C., when Jerusalem was closely invested by Sennacherib's armies. This is the view adopted by the more recent commentators—Cheyne, Driver, Marti, and G. A. Smith. The writer of this commentary inclines, however, to the earlier view represented by Dillmann, and regards his arguments as fairly cogent.

On the other hand, it is not easy to determine the date to which verses 19, 20 belong, and the same remark applies to the following six verses, 21–26, composed in elegiac measure, to which verses 27, 28 may perhaps be a later addendum (as Duhm supposes). Both these brief sections are assigned by Marti to the year 705 B.C., but there are no definite grounds for this assumption.

The same uncertainty as to date attaches to the closing verses, 29–31, which characterize the prevalent cultus of the high places. The metrical form is quite distinct from that of the sections which precede, but there is no sufficient internal ground for assigning its authorship to a late period; in fact, Cheyne seems disposed to assign it to Isaiah (Introd., p. 7), but Marti confidently regards it as late. It may be a fragment of a denunciation of tree-worship by Isaiah, as Cheyne surmises, and it should probably be assigned to an earlier date than 722 B.C. Duhm, in fact, considers that it refers to Northern Israel rather than Judah, and compares chap. ii. 6 foll., x. 1–4, xvii. 1–11. This view of the passage is confirmed when we turn to Hosea the prophet of the Northern Kingdom (iv. 13).

This opening chapter, placed at the head of the collection, chaps. i–xii, may be regarded as a characteristic summary of all that is most essential in Isaiah's teaching. In it we find blended the dominant notes of the oracles of both Amos and Hosea, viz. (1) God's character as righteous and His demand that His people should be just and merciful in their conduct, and that moral take precedence of ritual obligations (verses 12–17, 18, 23; cf. Amos iii. 9, 10, iv. 1, v. 10–27), and (2) God's character as love outraged by faithless Israel (verses 2, 3, 21; cf. Hos. i–iii, xi. 1–8).

hath spoken : I have nourished and brought up children,
 3 and they have rebelled against me. The ox knoweth his
 owner, and the ass his master's crib : *but* Israel doth not
 4 know, my people doth not consider. Ah sinful nation, a
 people laden with iniquity, a seed of evildoers, children
 that deal corruptly : they have forsaken the LORD, they
 have despised the Holy One of Israel, they are estranged
 5 *and gone* backward. Why will ye be still stricken, that ye
 revolt more and more ? the whole head is sick, and the
 6 whole heart faint. From the sole of the foot even unto
 the head there is no soundness in it ; *but* wounds, and
 bruises, and festering sores : they have not been closed,
 7 neither bound up, neither mollified with oil. Your
 country is desolate; your cities are burned with fire ;

2. This summons to hear is not uncommon in Hebrew poetry (cf. xxviii. 23, xxxii. 9). Here it is addressed to the heavens and the earth, as in Deut. xxxii. 1, which is evidently a reminiscence of this passage. This personification of the physical world and its varied objects is familiar to us in the O.T. Cf. the language of Judges v. 20, ix. 8-15 (Jotham's parable). Nature feels sympathy with human destiny and its events (Amos viii. 8 ; Joel i. 10, 12, &c.). Such personifications naturally arose in an age when animistic conceptions of the universe were universally prevalent.

The full force and pathetic emphasis of the Hebrew should be noted : 'Sons have I reared and brought up to fame, yet 'tis *they* who have rebelled against me.' The sin of Israel is not mere violation of an abstract law of morality. It is not merely immoral; it is irreligious, because it involves a *personal* relationship of antagonism to a Divine will and a holy Fatherhood.

4. *have despised*. The Hebrew is really stronger—'have done despite to' or 'spurned.'

5. Translate, 'on what part (of the body) will ye be smitten yet ?' So Gesenius and Ewald (following the Vulg.) and recent commentaries. R. V. here follows the traditional rendering of LXX, Targ., and Pesh. The rendering we have adopted is better suited to the following clauses, 'continuing to backslide,' &c., and gives a more vivid sense. The nation exhibits a piteous spectacle—a body bruised and wounded in every part.

7. *desolate* : more strictly, 'a desolation.' The last clause

your land, strangers devour it in your presence, and it is desolate, as overthrown by strangers. And the daughter ⁸ of Zion is left as a booth in a vineyard, as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers, as a besieged city. Except the ⁹

should be rendered 'and a desolation like an overthrow by strangers.' This would certainly yield a good sense, though these words are suspected by Duhm and Marti to be a gloss, since the metrical arrangement of the verse is overweighed by an extra clause. The strangers or foreigners are the Assyrians, if we follow the less probable view that these verses reflect the circumstances of the invasion of Judah as well as the Philistine territory by Sennacherib in 701 B.C. On the other hand, Ewald has been followed by more recent scholars in preferring to read Sodom in place of *sārim* (strangers), 'like the overthrow of Sodom.' The word for 'overthrow' in the original is so constantly employed in O.T. literature in the expression 'overthrow of Sodom' (and Gomorrah) (e.g. Amos iv. 11; Isa. xiii. 19; Jer. xl ix. 18, l. 40; and Deut. xxix. 23 (22 Heb.); cf. Gen. xix. 25, 29), that we might well expect the occurrence of the same expression here, especially as we find Sodom mentioned almost immediately (in verse 9). The textual change from 'strangers' to 'Sodom' in the original Heb. is but slight, and the reading 'strangers' easily arose through the occurrence of the same word earlier in the verse.

8. daughter of Zion. In poetic style towns were frequently designated by the feminine collective term for all the inhabitants, 'daughter,' 'maiden' (virgin), or 'mother'; cf. x. 32; 2 Sam. xx. 19; Ps. xlv. 12 (13 Heb.), lxxxvii. 5 (LXX), cxxxvii. 8; Zechariah ii. 7. 'Daughter of Zion' is appositional genitive = daughter, Zion.

The isolation of the city amid the desolated country whose towns were in the possession of the enemy or destroyed is vividly represented by the simile of a booth in a vineyard or a night bivouack in a cucumber field. A good illustration of this rude temporary shelter for field watchmen will be found in the Translation and Notes to Isaiah in the *SBOT*. (Cheyne), p. 162. Sennacherib's prism-inscription, col. iii. lines 13-24: 'I besieged 46 strong cities, fortresses and smaller towns of Hezekiah the Jew. . . . I besieged him like a caged bird in Jerusalem, his residence. . . . His towns which I had plundered I cut off from his land, gave them to Mitinti king of Ashdod, Padi king of Ekron. . . .' is cited by those who refer this passage to 701 B.C. as illustration from the annals of the Assyrian conqueror. The original record, carefully inscribed in minute cuneiform characters on a six-sided cylinder, may be seen by the visitor, in a glass case in one of the long rooms on an upper floor of the British Museum.

LORD of hosts had left unto us a very small remnant, we should have been as Sodom, we should have been like unto Gomorrah.

10. Hear the word of the LORD, ye rulers of Sodom ; give

9. a very small remnant. It is doubtful whether the adverbial phrase rendered 'very small' existed in the original Hebrew text in ancient times, for it is not translated by the old versions LXX, Pesh., and Vulg. The rendering of the R. V. and A. V. is based on the accentuation of the Massoretic Hebrew Bible, which connects this adverbial phrase with the conditional clause of the verse; but it might equally well be connected with the latter part or apodosis of the verse and rendered 'we should have been almost like Sodom . . .' This would be more in accordance with Hebrew idiom (cf. Song of Songs iii. 4; 2 Sam. xix. 37). The rendering 'we should have been soon like . . .' is not so probable (cf. Isa. xxvi. 20).

The expression **LORD of hosts** means the Lord (Yahweh) of the heavenly host or retinue of stars. These stars were regarded as celestial spirits who fought under Yahweh's leadership while the earthly armies of Israel fought below against the foes who were at once the enemies of Yahweh and of His chosen people. These stars fought in 'their high ways' in heaven against Sisera on Barak's side (Judges v. 20; cf. verse 4). This attendant retinue appears in Micaiah's vision (1 Kings xxii. 19), and co-operated with God in the work of creation (Job xxxviii. 4-7, called also 'sons of God'). We frequently find this expression 'Yahweh God of hosts,' or in its abbreviated form (as here) 'Yahweh (of) Hosts,' in the Hebrew prophets (Amos v. 27; Isa. vi. 3, &c.); but the origin of the expression belongs to a much earlier period than the eighth century, and goes back to the primitive times when Yahweh was regarded as pre-eminently the God of the atmosphere and storm whose abode was in heaven (cf. Isa. xl. 26).

10. **rulers of Sodom.** The word for 'ruler' (*Kāṣin*) is not the ordinary term employed in Hebrew, and is probably a designation of lower rank than the 'judge' (*Shōfet*)¹. It corresponds to the 'village justice' or *Kādi* (the same word, virtually) de-

¹ It was a South Palestinian and Arabic word, whereas *Shōfet* is Canaanite (Phoenician). Judges xi. 6, 11 show that the term *Kāṣin* (properly signifying *one who decides*) was a title of considerable dignity, and was even applied to a leader in war. *Shōfet*, as Moore points out (Judges, Introd. xi. foll.), means not only *judge*, but also *vindex*, 'defender,' 'deliverer.' It combines, however, in its prevalent meaning, the conceptions of *judging* and *ruling*.

ear unto the law of our God, ye people of Gomorrah. ;
To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto 11
me ? saith the LORD : I am full of the burnt offerings of
rams, and the fat of fed beasts ; and I delight not in the
blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of he-goats. When ye 12
come to appear before me, who hath required this at

scribed by Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, i. p. 145 : ‘The village justices handle no bribes nor for affection pervert justice, but they receive some small fee for their labour. Müsa [a village justice] was a Ḥorān lawyer, a candid, just soul, not common amongst Arabs ; to him resorted even the nōmad tribesmen about, for the determining of their differences out of “the word of Allah.” . . . The Kādi in such townships appoints the ransom for every lesser crime and the price of blood.’

In the parallelism characteristic of Hebrew poetry, which occurs in this passage, the word ‘law’ means the same thing as the ‘word of the Lord’ or divine teaching that came to the prophet. The Hebrew word for ‘law’ (*Tōrah*) means in reality *instruction*, and in the days when Isaiah lived it meant either the teaching conveyed in the oracles of the prophet or the answers (or instructions) given by the priest (cf. Deut. xvii. 9-11). But when Hebrew law and custom came to be codified and written down, this body of enactments acquired the special and technical name of ‘law’ (*Tōrah*), and this became the signification attached to the word in post-exilian literature, e.g. Ps. xix. 8, cxix. 55, 136; Ezra vii. 6, 10, x. 3, &c. After the first canon, i.e. the Pentateuch, was formed (fourth century), *Tōrah* was the Hebrew name of the ‘five books of Moses.’ It is important not to force the later legal meaning of *Tōrah* into the present passage.

i. 11-17. God is weary of the merely external round of ceremonial.

12. to appear before me. This is based on the Massoretic punctuation of the Hebrew, which adopts the old tradition which appears in the LXX, δοθῆναι. But this punctuation involves us in a doubtful construction. It would be better to punctuate differently and render ‘When ye come to see my face’ ; and we should probably follow the same course in Exod. xxiii. 15 and xxxiv. 20. The change involved in the Massoretic punctuation probably arose from the feeling which existed in early times and is reflected in Exod. xxxiii. 20, that to see God was the sure precursor of death ; cf. chap. vi. 5 and Judges xiii. 22, 23. Yet this last passage and Exod. xxiii. 15, xxxiv. 20 indicates that the worshipper thought himself safe if he brought sacrificial gifts in his hands, and this pas-

13 your hand; to trample my courts? Bring no more vain oblations; incense is an abomination unto me; new moon and sabbath, the calling of assemblies,—I cannot 14 away with iniquity and the solemn meeting. Your new moons and your appointed feasts my soul hateth: they 15 are a trouble unto me; I am weary to bear them. And when ye spread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you: yea, when ye make many prayers, I will not 16 hear: your hands are full of blood. Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before 17 mine eyes; cease to do evil: learn to do well; seek judgement, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow.

18 Come now, and let us reason together, saith the LORD: though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as

sage in Isaiah shows that the hands of the worshippers were certainly not empty.

13. The word for **oblation** (*Minhah*) meant in later post-exilian times vegetable or meal offering, e.g. in the Priestercodex (Lev. ii *passim*, vi. 7 foll., vii. 9), but in pre-exilian times, to which Isaiah belonged, it denoted both unbloody and bloody offerings. Thus in Gen. iv. 3 (Jahwist) it is applied both to Abel's offering and to that of Cain (cf. 1 Sam. ii. 17, xxvi. 19). Similarly, the word for **incense** meant in the days of Isaiah the smoke or vapour of the burning fat, while in the more elaborate post-exilian ritual it meant the smoke of the carefully compounded spices burned in the censer (Exod. xxx. 35; 2 Chron. ii. 3, xiii. 11).

'**solemn meeting**: better, 'festal assembly.'

14. **a trouble**. Render more accurately: 'they have become a burden to me; I am weary of bearing them.'

15. **when ye spread forth your hands**. The attitude in which homage is expressed, whether to a deity or a human potentate (see representations on Egyptian monuments, *passim*).

16. Translate: 'learn to do right; seek after justice; admonish the oppressor; obtain justice for the orphan; plead the widow's cause.'

17. It is hardly possible to retain the rendering of A. V. or R. V. with due regard to the context and the connexion of

wool. If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the ¹⁹ good of the land : but if ye refuse and rebel, ye shall be ²⁰ devoured with the sword : for the mouth of the **LORD** hath spoken it.

How is the faithful city become an harlot ! she that ²¹ was full of judgement ! righteousness lodged in her, but now murderers. Thy silver is become dross, thy wine ²²

thought. Cheyne would translate, ‘they *may be* white as snow’, thus giving the Heb. imperfect a *potential* force (cf. Gen. ii. 16 and Gesenius-Kautzsch²⁶, § 107. 4^b). But it is more probable that we should regard the verse as the expression of prophetic irony : ‘Come, let us urge our pleas against one another : though your sins be as scarlet, let them be white as snow ! . . .’ God and His people confront one another like parties in a suit. Some would render the apodosis as an ironical question, ‘Are they to be white as snow ?’ but there is no sign of an interrogation, and it would therefore be better to render it as suggested above : ‘let them be white as snow !’ as if such a thing were possible, while your life is corrupt, your worship hollow and insincere, and your sins unrepented of.

20. shall be devoured with the sword. Olshausen, § 250b, would explain the construction : ‘Ye shall be made to devour the sword.’ Duhm would simplify the grammar by adopting another punctuation, and render, ‘Ye shall devour the sword’ ; but this is too harsh a conception, and Ps. cii. 9 (Heb. 10, devour ashes) is no adequate parallel. Unless we follow the hint of the LXX and slightly alter the text, and read ‘the sword shall devour them,’ which is an ordinary metaphor (2 Sam. ii. 26), but involving a somewhat abrupt change of person, the proposed punctuation of Gunkel (*Schöpfung u. Chaos*, p. 161) has most to commend it : *Hörebh tóklu*, ‘ye shall eat dry waste’ (or perhaps ‘desolation’), a powerful metaphor, in which the exact antithetic balance of clauses with verse 19 is maintained.

21. The metaphor of Zion the harlot is an echo of the parabolic episode of Gomer bath-Diblaim in Hos. i-iii, in which the prophet of the Northern Kingdom portrays the infidelities of Ephraim. The same idea recurs in the elaborate allegory of Ezek. xvi. The underlying conception of Yahweh the husband of His people (personified as fem.) meets us again in Rev. xxi. 2, 9, in which the *New Jerusalem* is the bride adorned for her husband, the Lamb of God. The idea belongs probably to a later development of old Semitic culture, when man became the lord or owner of the woman (see Barton, *Semitic Origins*, pp. 40-59).

23 mixed with water. Thy princes are rebellious, and companions of thieves ; every one loveth gifts, and followeth after rewards : they judge not the fatherless, neither doth the cause of the widow come unto them.

24 Therefore saith the Lord, the LORD of hosts, the Mighty One of Israel, Ah, I will ease me of mine adversaries, and avenge me of mine enemies : and I will turn my hand upon thee, and throughly purge away thy dross, 26 and will take away all thy tin : and I will restore thy judges as at the first, and thy counsellors as at the beginning : afterward thou shalt be called The city of righteousness, 27 ness, the faithful city. [I?] Zion shall be redeemed

22. **mixed.** Perhaps we ought to render ‘weakened with water,’ but the meaning of the original is doubtful.

23. **Thy princes are rebellious.** This is a literally exact rendering, but it does not reproduce the punning of the original. Hebrew writers are prone to this, especially Isaiah, who loves these alliterations (cf. v. 1, 7; also Gen. i. 2, iv. 14, xlivi. 12 (*mishneh . . . mishgeh*)). ‘Princes are unprincipled’ hardly conveys the sense as fully as Cheyne’s ‘rulers are unruly.’ The expression may have been proverbial or an echo of Hos. ix. 15.

24. Translate: ‘Ah ! I will have my satisfaction on my adversaries and take vengeance on my foes.’ The word rendered **therefore** is often employed by Isaiah to introduce a threat of impending ill.

25. Render with R. V. (marg.), ‘bring my hand again upon thee.’ There are to be further chastisements in store, though the past has been full of them (cf. verses 5 foll.).

Translate: ‘that I may purge as with lye thy dross.’ The word *bôr*, here (like the fuller form *bôrith*) in R. V. (marg.) rendered ‘lye’ (in modern English ‘soap’), consisted of a wood or other vegetable ash (see *Enc. Bibl.*, under *Soap*), with which objects were cleansed sometimes in conjunction with oil. The reading seems to be supported by LXX. It is not improbable, however, that we ought to read *bakhur* (instead of *kabbôr*): ‘that I may smelt away *in a furnace* thy dross.’ This reading is better adapted to the verb employed, and yields a clear sense in harmony with the following parallel clause: ‘and remove all thy base alloy’ (so Cheyne and Marti).

Verses 27 and 28 have been regarded by Duhm, Cheyne, and Marti as the added moralizing reflections of a later age. They

with judgement, and her converts with righteousness. But the destruction of the transgressors and the sinners 28 shall be together, and they that forsake the LORD shall be consumed. For they shall be ashamed of the oaks 29 which ye have desired, and ye shall be confounded for the gardens that ye have chosen. For ye shall be as an 30 oak whose leaf fadeth, and as a garden that hath no water. And the strong shall be as tow, and his work as 31 a spark ; and they shall both burn together, and none shall quench them.

certainly assume a somewhat detached relation to the preceding verses 21-26, and lack the bold and vivid metaphors which there meet us. Moreover, the language reminds us of the later sections of this book (xl-lxvi), composed in exilian or post-exilian times.

27. her converts. The LXX renders 'her captives' ($\eta\alpha\chiμαλασία\;αὐτῆς$), a translation which is based on a different punctuation of the same Hebrew text, but internal considerations do not support it. The verse refers to moral renewal through Divine judgments. The expression 'converts' fully harmonizes with this conception.

28-31. A denunciation of tree cultus. For **oak** (or **oaks**) read **terebinth** (*terebinths*). On sacred trees among the ancient Semites see Robertson Smith, *RS.*², pp. 184-196, and 'Nature-Worship' in *Enc. Bibl.* §§ 2, 3. One prominent form of tree-worship became associated with the cult of Asherah (distinct from, though sometimes confounded with, Ashtoreth and Astarte). For a general review of the subject see Bruce-Taylor, in *Expository Times*, June 1903, 'Traces of Tree-worship in the O. T.' Cf. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, p. 104 foll.; and Baudissin's article on 'Asherah' in *Realencycl. für die protest. Kirche*, ii. p. 157 foll. On *Terebinth*, consult the article under this name in Hastings' *DB.* vol. iv, and on *Gardens*, article under the name in *Enc. Bibl.*

29. Render : 'For they shall be ashamed of the terebinths for which ye longed, and ye shall feel chagrin at the gardens in which ye delighted.'

30. Render : 'like a terebinth withering in its leaf.'

31. his work. This is evidently the right rendering based on a slight alteration of the punctuation of the Hebrew text. The Massoretic text is punctuated so as to signify 'his maker.' LXX, however, follows the real sense of the passage, which evidently requires us to read *po'olō*, 'his work.'

2 [R] The word that Isaiah the son of Amoz saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem.

CHAPTERS II-V.

ii. 1. We come to another superscription. As we have already seen, these redactional elements standing at the head of books, sections, or documents were added much later than the words which follow. It has been suggested that this superscription has been removed from its original position, and that it originally stood at the head of chap. ii. 6, and that the brief poem, chap. ii. 2-4, originally stood at the close of the group of oracles collected together in chap. i, forming a pendant to this small collection (Lagarde, *Sem.* i. 7; Stade, *Gesch. Isr.* i. p. 608; and Cheyne, *Introd.*, p. 15 foll.). This view is supported by Marti. But the grounds for this view are, in the opinion of the present writer, quite inadequate, and altogether fail to explain how the superscription could have been transferred to its present position. It probably forms the heading to a small collection of prophecies, chaps. ii-iv, to which chap. v (another smaller collection of oracles) came to be attached, and the brief poem, ii. 2-4, was inserted as a prelude.

This brief poem we shall now proceed to examine. It has formed the battle-ground of critics during the past century, and it cannot be said that there is any unanimity in the opinions of living scholars. The problem is complicated by two facts : (1) the same passage occurs in a slightly varied and longer form in Mic. iv. 1-4; (2) Joel iii. 10 (with other parallels) is obviously an echo from Isa. ii. 4 (Mic. iv. 3). How are these literary facts to be explained? Various theories have been advanced : (1) the passage was originally composed by Micah; (2) by Isaiah; (3) by some older poet and embodied in the collections of Isaiah and Micah respectively; (4) composed by Joel; (5) composed by some later, probably post-exilian, writer. This last view is that to which modern critics seem to incline. (1) was the theory advocated by Michaelis, Gesenius, Caspari, and Delitzsch. According to the last it forms in Micah the obverse to the preceding threatenings. Also he finds in it traces of Micah's style, e.g. 'house of Jacob' is such an expression as Micah would adopt, since Jacob is his favourite name for Israel; 'many peoples' (verse 3) is another phrase which meets us in Micah (iv. 11, 13, v. 6 foll., Heb.). These are not very decisive arguments, and Cheyne (*Introd.* p. 10) calls attention to the fact that most of the parallels are found in disputed portions of Micah. Moreover, the expression itself is too ordinary and general; and lastly, we have no hint elsewhere in his oracles of the conversion of the nations. According to Jer. xxvi, 18 the threatening (Mic. iii. 12, with which

[I] And it shall come to pass in the latter days, that

iv. 1-4 is contrasted) was composed in the days of Hezekiah, but this fact can scarcely be said to affect the argument one way or the other. (2) is the view still held by Duhm, who considers that its finely rounded six-lined strophes resemble other poetic passages composed by the prophet (xi. 1-8; xxxii. 1-5, 15-20). While he acknowledges that no cogent proof can be alleged in favour of Isaianic authorship, nothing can be brought forward on the ground of language against it. In his opinion this, as well as the other passages, were composed by the prophet as a swan-song in his old age. They were not delivered to the public, but communicated to a small company of disciples. On the other hand, Cheyne is exceedingly sceptical about these swan-songs (Introd. p. 14). (3) was the theory adopted by some of the older critics—Knobel, Ewald, and Dillmann—and more recently by Driver, König, and Kittel, that we have here a fragment of an ancient oracle. This was formerly the view of Cheyne, who acknowledged in his 'Bampton Lectures' (pub. 1891) that this was an 'old prophecy.' The same opinion was held in 1884 by Cornill (*ZATW.* p. 88, footnote); but both scholars have since changed their views and regard the passage as post-Isaianic. It is, in fact, difficult to assign this beautiful fragment to an earlier date than the lifetime of the prophet. The larger conception of Divine working and of Israel's destiny characteristic of the days of the Exile and the Deutero-Isaiah (cf. Isa. xl ix. 6) was beyond the range of any but the greatest and most original mind. In other words, it was possible to no one in the eighth century but Isaiah himself, the author of chap. ix. 1-7. (4) The reference of the poem to Joel was a natural surmise based on the remarkable parallels in language in Joel i. 7, 12, ii. 22 ('vine and fig-tree'), also Joel iii. 1, as well as the still more significant obverse, iii. 10. This opinion was held by Hitzig, who attributed the oracles of Joel to the ninth century B.C. This view, however, has no longer been held tenable. The grounds for the opinion of modern critics, who now with fair unanimity reject the views of Credner and Hitzig and place the prophecies of Joel in the fifth century B.C., will be found in Driver's *LOT.*, and appear to the present writer convincing. (5) Cornill, Cheyne, and Marti would assign an exilian or post-exilian date to this brief oracle. Though Joel is assigned by recent critics, and with good grounds, to a post-exilian date when the Greek race (Javan) had become familiar to Palestine (Joel iii. 6), the standpoint of the writer was too exclusive to render it likely that he could have originated this beautiful poem. On the other hand, the literary character of the prophet renders it likely that he quoted from it. The age which produced Isa. xl ix. 6 might well have originated Isa. ii. 2-4, or the latter passage may be based on the ideas of the former.

the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the

On the whole our judgment inclines to the view still held by Duhm (2), to which we have called attention—that this fragment was composed by Isaiah towards the close of his life. Stade's contention that the ideas here represented are not those which belong to the lifetime of the prophet is merely to argue for a foregone conclusion. It fixes by a hard and fast *a priori* scheme what each century and all the writers who lived in it may or may not think or say. No one may climb to the mountain tops to greet the dawn! But such a mode of handling literature becomes futile when we come to deal with a great personality like Isaiah, to whom the greatness of Jerusalem and of the Lord of Hosts ('Israel's Holy One') who dwelt there was a fundamental conception. Much has been made by Staerk of the phrase in Hebrew rendered 'in the latter days,' which he considers to belong to a later date than the eighth century. It is quite possible that this expression, both here and in Hos. iii. 5, Gen. xlix. 1, &c., is due to the hand of a later redactor, but even of this we cannot be quite certain. In the Assyrian of the age of Isaiah we have almost exactly the same expression, *ina ahrat umi*—'in future times' (see Schrader, *COT*. i. p. 140, on Gen. xlix. 1). It may well, therefore, be assumed that it existed in Hebrew and was not 'first formed during the Exile,' as Staerk supposes (in *ZATW.* 1891, pp. 247–251). This argument is advanced by Cheyne himself (Introd. p. 11 foll., footn. 2). Lastly, it must be remembered that the idea of exile for God's people had been brought vividly before the mind of the prophet by the events of 721 B.C., when the inhabitants of the northern kingdom had been deported. That a like fate awaited Judah in the course of time was only too probable (Isa. vii. 18–20, viii. 8). That a writer like Isaiah, the author of the prophecy of Immanuel, would leave the problem of the ultimate future of Jerusalem unsolved is neither probable nor credible. Prophecies like Isa. ix. 5 foll. and xi. 1–9 would be the natural, reassuring utterances of the poet-seer, addressed to his people as the dark clouds of foreign conquest loomed on the horizon or seemed to roll away. It is needful at this early stage to state at full length the critical attitude adopted in this commentary towards some of the literary problems that await us in the earlier chapters (i–xxxix) of the Prophecies of Isaiah. Comp. introductory notes to ix. 1 and xi. 1 foll.

2. The opening of this fragment resembles many others (vii. 18, 21, xi. 10, 11, &c.) and suggests the hand of a redactor. The writer contemplates a great physical change; the temple-mountain is to stand in appearance at least at the summit of the mountains

hills; and all nations shall flow unto it. And many peoples 3 shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the LORD, to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths: for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the LORD from Jerusalem. And he shall judge 4 between the nations, and shall reprove many peoples: and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruninghooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.

O house of Jacob, come ye, and let us walk in the light 5 of the LORD. For thou hast forsaken thy people the 6

of Jerusalem and tower above all. LXX both here and in the Micah passage read 'mountain of the Lord' only. Probably Ezek. xl. 2 is an echo of these passages.

3. Render more in accordance with idiom, 'that he may teach us . . . and we may' walk.' Here again, as in i. 9, we notice that law means properly 'instruction' and stands in parallelism with the 'word of the Lord.'

4. For reprove read 'give decisions.' The subject of the verb is of course Yahweh in his capacity as the Divine Judge.

The metal point of the spear is to be forged into a reaping-knife¹. War shall be no more; cf. Isa xi. 6 foll. The picture is completed in Micah (verse 4) by an idyllic touch of peace and security, every man dwelling in safety under his own vine and fig-tree.

5. This verse is evidently based on an abbreviation of Mic. iv. 5, which probably formed an integral part of the original prophecy. Here it seems to form a link to what follows.

6-21 form probably a single oracle, of which verses 10, 17, and 21 are the refrain. It contains threatenings of Divine judgment amid the pride, prosperity and luxury of the nation. There is no hint here of foreign invasion (as we find in iii. 25, 26). Therefore it is fairly probable that this oracle (the text of which is disturbed and interpolated in some passages) belongs to the

¹ A good illustration of such a reaping-knife or sickle, curved in form, may be seen in *Enc. Bibl.* 'Agriculture,' vol. i, cols. 80, 81. (Note especially the specimen discovered at Tell el Hesi (Lachish).)

house of Jacob, because they be filled *with customs* from the east, and *are* soothsayers like the Philistines, and ⁷ they strike hands with the children of strangers. Their land also is full of silver and gold, neither is there any end of their treasures ; their land also is full of horses, ⁸ neither is there any end of their chariots. Their land also is full of idols ; they worship the work of their own ⁹ hands, that which their own fingers have made. And the mean man is bowed down, and the great man is brought ¹⁰ low : therefore forgive them not. Enter into the rock, and hide thee in the dust, from before the terror of the LORD, ¹¹ and from the glory of his majesty. The lofty looks of man shall be brought low, and the haughtiness of men shall be bowed down, and the LORD alone shall be exalted ¹² in that day. For there shall be a day of the LORD of

earliest delivered by Isaiah, not improbably, as Marti suggests, soon after 740 B.C., when Uzziah, according to *a Chron.* xxvi, 6-15 (which probably rests upon a historical basis), had materially increased the military prestige and material well-being of Judah (see 'Uzziah' in Hastings' *DB.*). He had also regained for Judah Elath, the port on the Elanitic gulf of the Red Sea through which foreign products found their way into his kingdom. These conditions of national prosperity are reflected in this section, and the reference to the 'Tarshish ships' in verse 16 is significant.

6. LXX render : 'He hath forsaken his people,' based, as Duhm and Marti consider, on a more correct text. The translation should continue : 'for they are full of divination from the East, and of soothsayers like the Philistines, and are crowded with the children of foreigners.' By the East we might understand North Arabia or Babylonia ; see Hastings' *DB.* article 'Soothsayer,' vol. iv, p. 600 *ad init.* The 'children of foreigners' mean slaves. On the rendering 'crowded' see Hastings' *DB.* 'Servant,' vol. iv, p. 463, footnote.

9. For the mean man read 'mankind,' and for the great man read simply 'a man.'

10. Here we have the refrain preserved in its fuller form in the LXX, which supplies the missing line in our Hebrew text 'when He arises to shake the earth' (cf. verses 19 and 21).

12. a day of the **LORD** is an oft-recurring O.T. phrase

hosts upon all that is proud and haughty, and upon all that is lifted up ; and it shall be brought low : and upon 13 all the cedars of Lebanon, that are high and lifted up, and upon all the oaks of Bashan ; and upon all the high 14 mountains, and upon all the hills that are lifted up ; and 15 upon every lofty tower, and upon every fenced wall ; and upon all the ships of Tarshish, and upon all pleasant 16 imagery. And the loftiness of man shall be bowed down, 17 and the haughtiness of men shall be brought low : and

meaning a day of Divine judgment or visitation of wrath in the form of calamity, 'But judgment is not an end in itself; it is only in order to redemption, and behind the storm of judgment there always rises clear the day of salvation'; see the late Dr. Davidson's article on the Eschatology of the O. T. *sub voce* 'Eschatology' in Hastings' *DB.* pp. 735 foll.

16. The 'Tarshish ships' meant originally those which sailed from Mediterranean ports, especially from Tyre, to Tartessus, a commercial city frequented especially by the Phoenician merchantmen ; cf. Ezek. xxvii. 12, 25 (oracle on Tyre)¹. The phrase then came, like our word 'Indiaman,' to mean the larger vessels of merchandise. Then in 1 Kings xxii. 49 we read that these vessels made their way to Ophir. We bear in mind that about this time (739 b.c. !) Elath in the gulf of Akaba was in the possession of Judah. It is almost certain that both vessels and crews were Phoenician. See *Hebrew Antiquities* (R.T.S.), pp. 134, 135 foll.

The rendering *pleasant imagery* is as good as any that has been suggested. But the word for 'imagery' in Hebrew is very obscure. The context indicates that it may refer to the images carved on the prow of the vessels. So LXX ἐπὶ πᾶσαν θέαν πλοοῖς κέλλοις.

¹ See *Enc. Bibl.* under 'Tarshish,' where the various theories as to the identification are given. It is to be noted that the name is absent in LXX at this passage, and in xxiii. 1, 6, 11 is represented by Carthage. This, however, does not necessarily militate against the identification with Tartessus in Spain, since Carthage in the original Phoenician means 'New Town,' and this would be a natural designation of a new Phoenician colony, which Tartessus probably was. Thus the 'new town' of Citium bore this name (see Winckler in *KAT.*³ p. 128).

18 the LORD alone shall be exalted in that day. And the
 19 idols shall utterly pass away. And men shall go into the
 caves of the rocks, and into the holes of the earth, from
 before the terror of the LORD, and from the glory of his
 20 majesty, when he ariseth to shake mightily the earth. In
 that day a man shall cast away his idols of silver, and his
 idols of gold, which they made for him to worship, to
 21 the moles and to the bats ; to go into the caverns of the
 rocks, and into the clefts of the ragged rocks, from before
 the terror of the LORD, and from the glory of his majesty,
 22 when he ariseth to shake mightily the earth. [R] Cease
 ye from man, whose breath is in his nostrils : for wherein
 is he to be accounted of ?

8 [I] For, behold, the Lord, the LORD of hosts, doth take

18. This verse seems to be a brief fragment. Not improbably several verses have been lost at the close of this remarkable poem.

20. We pass suddenly from poetry to prose. Perhaps the verse is the addition of some scribe suggested by the caves and holes of the earth (verse 19), into which the terror-stricken men fled from the terrifying manifestations of the Divine power casting the vain idols of His worship to the moles and bats which tenanted this dark abode.

22 is omitted in LXX, and is probably the pious ejaculation of a devout scribe who added this comment. For wheredin, &c., read : ‘at what value is he to be accounted !’

iii. 1-12, 13-15, 16—iv. 1 constitute a group of oracles which belong to yet later and more degenerate days. So serious does the state of the people, the oppression of the poor by the rich and the luxurious frivolity of the women, appear to the prophet that he sees an impending dissolution of the state, the destruction of the leaders, ruin and impoverishment, and, last of all, foreign invasion and loss of the male population. It is not easy to assign a definite date to this chapter. We are evidently surrounded by the conditions which prevailed in the days of Ahaz. Verse 16 points to a state of luxury existing among the upper classes of society, and verse 12 to the undue influence exercised on the course of events by the women of the king’s harem. Is the youthful Hezekiah, just placed on the throne, referred to in the same verse as the child-despot ? If so we may assume the year

away from Jerusalem and from Judah stay and staff,
the whole stay of bread, and the whole stay of water; the 2
mighty man, and the man of war; the judge, and the
prophet, and the diviner, and the ancient; the captain of 3
fifty, and the honourable man, and the counsellor, and
the cunning artificer, and the skilful enchanter. And I 4
will give children to be their princes, and babes shall
rule over them. And the people shall be oppressed, 5
every one by another, and every one by his neighbour:
the child shall behave himself proudly against the ancient,
and the base against the honourable. When a man shall 6
take hold of his brother in the house of his father, *saying*,
Thou hast clothing, be thou our ruler, and let this ruin
be under thy hand: in that day shall he lift up *his voice*, 7

726 B.C., when Judah had fairly recovered from the Syro-Ephraimite war, as a not improbable date. See Introduction, pp. 23 foll.

Verses 1-12 are in the form of eight-lined stanzas.

1. For the whole read 'every.'

2. honourable man, i.e. man in high favour. Instead of *cunning artificer*, &c., render 'skilled magician' and 'expert charmer.' We find here portrayed the same condition of things as in ii. 6. Among the most important leaders of society was the soothsayer and the magician. The soothsayer sought to ascertain the will of the Deity in all the emergencies of life whether public or private. The magician sought to control that will. With reference to the soothsayer's art, 'It was regarded not merely as permissible, but as essential to piety and the security of the state' (Bevan in *Critical Review*, 1899, April, p. 143).

4. For *babes* read 'wilfulness.' Cf. verse 12.

5. Translate: 'The people shall oppress one another, man against man, and one against another.'

6. *his brother* (like 'his neighbour') is the Hebrew idiom for English 'another.'

~~he~~ of his father means ancestral abode.

clothing is too general a term for the original *Simlah*, which was the broad and flowing outer garment or 'mantle' ordinarily worn, like the Greek *himation* (the rendering in LXX). The *ruin* here means the ruined social fabric of the state. This is made clear in verse 8. On the word *ruler* see note on i. 10.

7. The ~~pernicious~~ offer is declined. He loudly protests that he

saying, I will not be an healer ; for in my house is neither bread nor clothing : ye shall not make me ruler of the 8 people. For Jerusalem is ruined, and Judah is fallen : because their tongue and their doings are against the 9 LORD, to provoke the eyes of his glory. The shew of their countenance doth witness against them ; and they declare their sin as Sodom, they hide it not. Woe unto their soul ! for they have rewarded evil unto themselves.

10 Say ye of the righteous, that *it shall be well with him* : for 11 they shall eat the fruit of their doings. Woe unto the wicked ! *it shall be ill with him* : for the reward of his 12 hands shall be given him. As for my people, children are their oppressors, and women rule over them. O my people, they which lead thee cause thee to err, and destroy 13 the way of thy paths. The LORD standeth up to plead, 14 and standeth to judge the peoples. The LORD will enter into judgement with the elders of his people, and the

will not be surgeon or 'binder up' of a state so desperately wounded (cf. i. 5). His poverty was so great that in his ancestral inheritance he had not the wherewithal to maintain himself as a ruler (*Kasim*).

9. Instead of *shew of their countenances* read with R.V. (marg.) : 'Their respecting of persons.' Here as elsewhere the gross partiality of the judges of Judah is rebuked; cf. i. 17, 23; Amos v. 10-12 (in reference to Israel); Mic. ii. 2, 3.

their soul, according to Hebrew (and Arabic) idiom, means 'themselves.'

12. Translate: 'As for my people, their despot is a boy (child).' There is no need to follow LXX, who with a different punctuation of the Hebrew word rendered *women* translate it by 'usurers' (*dmarōw̄res*). Our punctuated Hebrew text yields a good enough sense; for the presence and power of women in society is indicated later on in verse 16, and the mention of *them* here is thoroughly appropriate and probable.

13. Yahweh is introduced as judge. He presents Himself before His people to conduct the trial, yet not as plaintiff, but as judge. It is otherwise i. 18. The reading 'His people' is preferable to the peoples of the Massoretic Hebrew text represented in R.V. The former has the support of the LXX.

princes thereof: It is ye that have eaten up the vineyard; the spoil of the poor is in your houses: what mean ye 15 that ye crush my people, and grind the face of the poor? saith the Lord, the LORD of hosts.

Moreover the LORD said, Because the daughters of 16 Zion are haughty, and walk with stretched forth necks and wanton eyes, walking and mincing as they go, and making a tinkling with their feet: therefore the Lord will 17 smite with a scab the crown of the head of the daughters of Zion, and the LORD will lay bare their secret parts. [I?] In that day the Lord will take away the bravery 18

iii. 16—iv. 1. The denunciation of the prophet turns from the men to the women of the upper classes of society. It takes the form of six-lined stanzas.

16. Translate: 'walk with outstretched necks and ogling (or leering) with their eyes': the word rendered 'ogling' or 'leering' may also mean 'winking'. So it seems to be understood by the LXX (*τὰ νεύμασιν δρθαλμῶν*). The tinkling with the feet as the women walked trippingly along was due to either the anklets or the step-chains (ankle-chains, R. V.) of verses 18, 20. 'Anklets of solid gold or silver are worn by some ladies... They are of course very heavy, and knocking together as the wearer walks make a ringing noise; hence it is said in a song, "The ringing of thy anklets has deprived me of my reason"' (Lane, *Modern Egyptians*). Muhammad, however, in Korân, Sur. xxiv. 32, discouraged such vulgar display, and recommended that women 'beat not with their feet that their hidden ornaments may be perceived.'

Verses 18-23 are no longer in the form of the six-lined stanza of the verses that immediately precede, but are simple, prose commencing with the formula *In that day*. Duhm, Cheyne, and Marti consider that such an enumeration is quite alien to the style of Isaiah, and it certainly does seem a strange contrast. But is it not possible that this was intended to express the prophet's scorn of all these paraphernalia of feminine frivolity, which are utterly unworthy of poetry? It must be remembered that enumerations are not altogether foreign to Isaiah's style; cf. ii. 12-16, iii. 2, 3: 'In that day (viz. the impending day of Divine visitation which the prophet has throughout in view) Yahweh will take away the adornment of the anklets, the little suns and the little moons.' The 'little suns' and 'little moons' were doubtless used as amulets, and had a magical significance.

19 of their anklets, and the cauls, and the crescents; the pendants, and the bracelets, and the mufflers; the headtires, and the ankle chains, and the sashes, and the perfume boxes, and the amulets; the rings, and the nose jewels; 22 the festival robes, and the mantles, and the shawls, and the

The latter were crescents, and were worn hanging as a necklace. In Judges viii. 21 we read that they were carried on the necks of the camels of the two Midianite kings. They were used as a charm. Lane observes that horses often wear appendages consisting of a few verses of the Korân enclosed in cases of metal or leather. Among modern Arabs the *hilâl* is a crescent of diamonds set in gold or silver, resembling in form the phase of the moon when between two and three nights old. It is regarded as an effective remedy against the Evil Eye, for the *hilâl* or new moon is the image of growing prosperity (Delitzsch).

19. 'The ear-drops, the bracelets, and the veils.' The enumeration does not follow any method or order. The ear-drops were also worn by males. Lane, in describing the modern counterparts, says 'it consists of a drop suspended within a wreath hanging from a sprig,' sometimes consisting of diamonds, sometimes emeralds or rubies set in gold. In ancient times glass may have been used, for we know that it was manufactured in Egypt in early times (Wilkinson, ii. 140-152, &c.; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxvi. 64). Moreover, glass bowls have been discovered in Nineveh as well as glass ornaments in Babylon (Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, abridged edition, pp. 65, 290).

20. It is not easy to determine the probable form of the 'head-tire.' It may have consisted of bands made of gold and silver thread which passed across the forehead from one ear to the other (Delitzsch), or it may have assumed other forms; see *Hebrew Antiquities* (R.T.S.), p. 50. We learn from Isa. lxi. 10 that it was worn on festive occasions, as weddings.

The 'girdles' (sashes) and the 'scent-cases' probably went together, the latter suspended from the former. Probably the scent-cases contained some preparation of the balsam perfume which we find mentioned in verse 24. There were also other varieties of perfume, as we learn from Ps. xlv (myrrh, aloes, and cassia, another list in Song of Solomon iv. 14).

The amulets were probably ear-rings inscribed with devices magical and protective. It is significant that Jacob buried these (Gen. xxxv. 4) under a terebinth. See *Enc. Bibl.* 'amulet.'

21. 'The finger-rings and nose-rings,' *Hebrew Antiquities*, p. 52 (see illustrations).

22. For *satchels* read 'pockets.'

satchels; the hand mirrors, and the fine linen, and the turbans, and the veils. [I] And it shall come to pass, that instead of sweet spices there shall be rottenness; and instead of a girdle a rope; and instead of well set hair baldness; and instead of a stomacher a girding of sackcloth: branding instead of beauty. Thy men shall fall by the sword, and thy mighty in the war. And her gates shall lament and mourn; and she shall be desolate and sit upon the ground. And seven women shall take hold of one man 4

23. The Hebrew word rendered 'hand-mirrors' comes in the midst of articles of clothing. LXX render by 'articles of fine linen' (*byssus*). Something of the kind was probably intended. Peiser, *ZATW.* (xvii. (1897) p. 349), compares the *Šubatu gu-li-nu* of Babylonian contract tablets; *gulinu* is almost the same word as the Hebrew in this passage, and means a kind of garment. The rendering 'hand-mirror' should probably be abandoned.

24. The catalogue of finery is concluded. It shall all come to a sorry end: the tragic note is once more sounded. The scene changes from the glitter of the ear-drops and the head-tires, and the clatter of the anklets of a fashionable lady, as she trips along the streets of Jerusalem, to a far different scene of slaughter, mourning, captivity, and degradation. The poetic measure is resumed.

The tragic contrasts are ruthlessly set forth. *Pethigil* seems to mean some stately robe. 'Instead of a stately robe, girding of sackcloth.' Rottenness, disease, and penury that cause the hair to fall off; the sackcloth of mourning for the dead; ropes round the body and branding upon the fair faces and arms of the captives taken from the beleaguered towns—this is the lot that awaits the once powerful and gay. We are strongly reminded of the language and tone of chap. xxii, 12 foll.

25-26 complete the picture of the slaughtered garrison and the depopulated town, probably Zion, which is here personified and addressed in verse 25, and described in the 3rd person in verse 26 as sitting in silent anguish on the ground.

iv. 1 is a grim portrayal of one of the consequences of war and its depopulation. The women vastly outnumber the male population, and are willing to dispense even with the rights of maintenance by the husband if he will only save them from the dishonour of unwedded life and childlessness (cf. Isa. liv. 4 foll.; Judges xi. 38; Gen. xxx. 23; 1 Sam. i. 5-10). This seems to be the real meaning of the passage. There is no proof that the seven women

in that day, saying, We will eat our own bread, and wear our own apparel : only let us be called by thy name ; take thou away our reproach.

2 In that day shall the branch of the LORD be beautiful and glorious, and the fruit of the land shall be excellent
 3 and comely for them that are escaped of Israel. And it shall come to pass, that he that is left in Zion, and he that remaineth in Jerusalem, shall be called holy, even every one that is written among the living in Jerusalem :
 4 when the Lord shall have washed away the filth of the daughters of Zion, and shall have purged the blood of Jerusalem from the midst thereof, by the spirit of judgement, and by the spirit of burning. [PE] And the LORD will create over the whole habitation of mount Zion, and over her assemblies, a cloud and smoke by day, and the shining of a flaming fire by night : for over all the glory
 6 *shall be spread* a canopy. And there shall be a pavilion

belong to the same aristocratic rank as those mentioned in verses 16 foll., and that they desire protection from their previous forlorn condition of humiliation as Duhm supposes. Their protested desire of self-maintenance contradicts this view.

eat our bread means, according to Hebrew idiom, ‘earn our living’ (Gen. iii. 19; Amos vii. 12).

2-6. A brief idyll respecting Zion in the future, purified and made glorious by the visible presence of Yahweh, comes like a rainbow and sunshine after the storm of the preceding chapter.

There has been considerable discussion as to the meaning of the ‘shoot’ or ‘sprout of Yahweh’ which is to ‘become a beauty and an honour.’ According to the traditional view represented by Targ., Kimhi, Hengstenberg, Delitzsch, Driver, and Lagarde, this phrase is a designation of the Messiah. It is true that Zech. iii. 8, vi. 12 use this expression ‘sprout’ or ‘branch of Yahweh’ in the sense indicated, on the basis of the same conception and phraseology in Jer. xxiii. 5, xxxiii. 5 (‘righteous sprout’) associated with the posterity of David, but the parallelism entirely forbids this interpretation of the expression here. The same argument disposes of other explanations. We can therefore understand ‘sprout of Yahweh’ only to mean the fruit of the

for a shadow in the day-time from the heat, and for a refuge and for a covert from storm and from rain.

[I] Let me sing for my wellbeloved a song of my beloved 5

land; not of the cultivated land, but of the uncultivated land, i.e. it is the spontaneous product of the soil (cf. Jer. xxxi. 12), in the golden Messianic age that is to come. He who remains in Jerusalem a survivor of the last calamities of Divine judgment is 'recorded for life' in Jerusalem. We are reminded of 'the book of remembrance' in Mal. iii. 16, and of the 'book of the living,' Exod. xxxii. 32 foll.¹ [1 Sam. xxv. 29]. The O. T. is full of images of terrestrial fruitfulness in the Messianic age: cf. Jer. xxxi. 12; Isa. lv. 13; Joel iii. 18.

There are many recent critics, e.g. Duhm and Marti, who regard chap. iv. 2-6 as a late eschatological discourse not composed by Isaiah. This is probably true of the concluding verses 5, 6, which are evidently based on the narrative of Israel's wanderings in the desert, especially Exod. xiii. 21, xxiv. 15-18. The word for 'create' cannot certainly be pressed as a sign of lateness (i.e. as being a post-exilian expression), since the reading is doubtful. LXX suggest the reading which may be rendered 'And there shall come and shall be,' &c., instead of the Massoretic text, which has 'And Yahweh shall create . . .'

CHAPTER V.

This chapter has no heading, and stands isolated. It cannot be connected with the following chapter, which evidently formed the beginning of another small collection. On the other hand, chap. iv obviously formed originally the conclusion of a distinct group of oracles, chaps. ii-iv. We may suppose, however, that subsequently chap. v came to be added. This chapter is of varied contents. It consists of (1) *The Parable of the Divine Vineyard* (1-7), a story of a husbandman's labours crowned with disappointment. Its fences are therefore destroyed, and it is abandoned to ruin. The parable is applied to Judah, of which Jehovah is the Divine husbandman. To appreciate the details the reader is advised to consult Hastings' *DB*. 'Vine, Vineyard,' or, more concisely stated, the account given in *Hebrew Antiquities* (R.T.S.), pp. 95 foll. We have first after the introductory couplet,

'I would sing of my friend
My friend's song of his vineyard,'

¹ Zimmern in *KAT.*³ notes the Babylonian parallel of Nabû as the recording God who writes on tablets of destiny (pp. 400-407).

touching his vineyard. My wellbeloved had a vineyard
 2 in a very fruitful hill : and he made a trench about it,
 and gathered out the stones thereof, and planted it with
 the choicest vine, and built a tower in the midst of it,
 and also hewed out a winepress therein : and he looked
 that it should bring forth grapes, and it brought forth wild
 3 grapes. And now, O inhabitants of Jerusalem and men
 of Judah, judge, I pray you, betwixt me and my vineyard.

three eight-lined strophes or stanzas. The word for 'friend' in the original is a strong term of endearment.

1. *wellbeloved* is an appropriate rendering. There are two words for 'friend' in the Hebrew, and in the second line where 'friend' occurs it might mean 'love' rather than 'loved one.' In that case we must render by 'my love-song.' But it is more appropriate to render both Hebrew words by 'friend' or 'wellbeloved.' For in verses 3 foll. we notice that it is the 'friend' or Yahweh who speaks in His own person. The Hebrew word for 'friend' in the second line is *Dôd*, and this name, slightly varied, occurs in the inscription of the Stone of Mesha, line 12, 'altar of *Dôdah*', the form being apparently feminine. We had occasion to notice (on i. 21) that Yahweh was regarded as the Husband of Israel as well as father of sons. Terms of relationship and endearment were frequently applied to deities by the Semitic peoples. Cf. the Hebrew *Ahijah* (meaning 'Yahweh is my brother'). *Dôd* in proper names meant 'uncle' (see Gray, *Hebrew Proper Names*, p. 11), and was probably commonly applied to Yahweh in the eighth century, but, like the name *Baal* ('lord' or 'husband'), came to be abandoned on account of its resemblance to the name of the god Hadad in its abbreviated form *Dâd*; cf. Hos. ii. 18, and Winckler in *KAT.* 3, p. 225.

2. For *made a trench about it*, read 'dug about it.' As the vineyard was on a mountain-slope, it was full of stones, and these had to be cleared away before the vine-shoots were planted. These last were of a specially good quality called *Sôrek* ('choicest vine'). A watch-tower for some one to keep guard against predators, whether man or beast, was built in the vineyard. Also a *yekab* or 'wine-vat' (so render with R. V. marg.) was hewn out in the solid rock of the mountain-side. The wine-press was called *Pûrâh* or *Gath*, where men trod the grapes out (Isa. lxiii. 3; Joel iii. 18). By this process the grape-juice flowed through a grated opening into the 'vat' (or *yekab*) in the earth below. The latter was superficially much smaller, but it was deeper (four feet square and three feet deep) than the wine-press.

What could have been done more to my vineyard, that I 4
 have not done in it? wherefore, when I looked that it
 should bring forth grapes, brought it forth wild grapes? 5
 And now go to; I will tell you what I will do to my
 vineyard: I will take away the hedge thereof, and it shall
 be eaten up; I will break down the fence thereof, and it
 shall be trodden down: and I will lay it waste; it shall 6
 not be pruned nor hoed; but there shall come up briers
 and thorns: I will also command the clouds that they
 rain no rain upon it. For the vineyard of the LORD of 7
 hosts is the house of Israel, and the men of Judah his
 pleasant plant: and he looked for judgement, but behold
 oppression; for righteousness, but behold a cry.

Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field 8

But all was of no avail. The grapes, after patient waiting,
 turned out to be bad and sour.

5. **And now go to . . . :** in the original, 'And now I would let
 you know,' &c. The thorn-hedge is to be removed, and it (i. e.
 the vineyard) shall be browsed upon at will. The rough stone
 wall (*gādér*, called by the modern Arabs *jedar*) is to be broken
 down. The wild boar of the forest or any roving beast may work
 its will (Ps. lxxx. 12 foll., the idea of which may perhaps be an
 echo of this passage). Here a foreign (Assyrian) invasion is darkly
 presaged.

6. **but there shall come up:** we now pass to a slower and
 heavier measure.

7. The parable is applied. Judah is his 'delightsome plant.'
 Here again we have the assonance of words that was affected
 by ancient Hebrew as it is by modern oratory. Cf. Gen. ix. 6^a
 (Heb.). The word for 'judgment' is *mishpāt*, and for 'oppression'
 (properly 'bloodshed') is *mispāh*. The word for righteousness
 is *saddāh*, and for 'cry' of distress is *tse'ākāh*. We might, following
 the hint of Duhm's translation, render (though not literally):

'And I hoped for good rule, and behold! blood-rule,
 And for law-keeping, and behold! law-breaking.'

(a) 8-24. *The Seven Woes.* We now come to a series of
 seven denunciations; such was originally the full number in this
 passage. Each strophe begins with a woe! (or Ah!) and is
 directed against some special corrupt phase or vice of society.

to field, till there be no room, and ye be made to dwell alone
 9 in the midst of the land ! In mine ears *saith* the L^RORD of
 hosts, Of a truth many houses shall be desolate, even
 10 great and fair, without inhabitant. For ten acres of
 vineyard shall yield one bath, and a homer of seed shall
 yield *but* an ephah.

In some cases we may assume that a considerable portion of the strophe has been lost. About 730 B. C. is not improbably the date of this poem.

The first strophe (8-10) is directed against the selfish greed for land and houses. Houses and fields of the dispossessed peasantry are bought up or seized by the rich and powerful. How this arose is probably to be explained in part by the harsh customs of usury which prevailed during the regal period, and which it was the purpose of legislation to restrain (Exod. xxii. 25 foll.; Deut. xxiii. 19 foll., xxiv. 10 foll., as well as the laws respecting seventh year and jubilee). The growth of trade and of large towns did not diminish the evil, and the ruthless wars of the ninth century with Syria, as well as the Syro-Ephraimite war of 735, had the inevitable result that it destroyed the fruits and crops and impoverished the small cultivator and reduced him with his family to utter destitution. His only resource was then to resort to borrowing at enormous interest (even perhaps 20 per cent., as we may infer from Babylonian contract tablets; see Hastings' *DB*. 'Usury'); or to relinquish his land and house to the eager creditor—who found the peasant's misfortune his golden opportunity—and to exchange his own freedom or that of his children for voluntary servitude. Cf. 2 Kings iv. 1; Hastings' *DB*, 'Servant' ('Slave'), p. 463.

9, 10. Probably two words have dropped out at the beginning of verse 9: '[Therefore hath sworn] in my ears Yahweh of hosts'; see on verse 19. In consequence the land becomes depopulated and large tracts go out of cultivation as the *latifundia* or great landed properties increase (just as in ancient Italy in the days of the Gracchi). **ten acres** of vineyard land yield only an ephah or bath of wine (between eight and nine gallons). Probably an 'acre' is not an adequate rendering of the Hebrew term, which is literally rendered 'yoke,' i. e. as much land as a pair (or 'yoke') of oxen can plough in a day—in reality considerably more than an acre. According to Ezek. xlvi. 11 a **homer** is ten ephahs (or eighty-five gallons). We have the strange depressing fact that this quantity of seed yields instead of much more than, only one *tenth* of, its own measure ! So impoverished and unproductive is the soil—a sure

Woe unto them that rise up early in the morning, that 11 they may follow strong drink ; that tarry late into the night, till wine inflame them ! And the harp and the lute, 12 the tabret and the pipe, and wine, are *in* their feasts : but they regard not the work of the LORD, neither have they considered the operation of his hands. Therefore my 13 people are gone into captivity, for lack of knowledge : and their honourable men are famished, and their multitude are parched with thirst. Therefore hell hath 14

sign of Divine judgment. For in O. T. prophecy nature sympathizes with the moral conditions of humanity and with Divine visitations (Gen. iii. 17; Isa. xxiv. 3-5; Hos. iv. 2, 3; Jer. xxiii. 10).

The second strophe (11-13) is a denunciation headed by *Woe!* (or *Ah!*) directed against the drunkenness and dissipation of the upper classes of society.

11, 12. Translate more idiomatically : ‘rise up early in the morning, pursuing strong drink, . . . tarry late in the dusk, wine inflaming them.’ On the appended imperfects in Hebrew as verbal circumstantial clauses see Gesen.-Kautzsch²⁸, § 156. 3. On the vice of drinking wine in the early morning see Eccles. x. 16 foll. The harp, lute, tambourine, and flute are the musical instruments that beguile the hours. Cf. an analogous passage in Amos vi. 1, 3-6 denouncing similar vices among the nobility of Samaria.

Omit the word ‘in’ (printed in italics) and read : ‘are (i. e. constitute) their feasts.’

13. Translate : ‘go into exile unawares’ (Cheyne, Marti), blind to the evil which awaits them.

Translate : ‘His honourable ones are exhausted with hunger.’ The rendering ‘exhausted’ is due to a slight change of text; cf. Deut. xxxii. 24, where the phrase occurs. On the other hand, the LXX rendering ‘dead with hunger’ is based on the same Hebrew text as our Massoretic differently punctuated.

‘And his throng parched with thirst.’ The word for ‘throng’ in Hebrew means a tumultuous crowd.

14. *Third strophe.* We here seem to have a fragment only of the strophe, probably the conclusion, and it is consequently impossible to be sure as to its contents. It is not by any means clear that it specially referred to *Jerusalem*, as Duhm and Marti suppose, though the feminine possessive in ‘her grandeur, her crowds, and her tumult’ in verse 14, and the ‘ruins’ in verse 17, are certainly best explained by a reference to *Jerusalem*.

For ~~Hell~~ read *Hades* (in Heb. *Sheôl*), regarded in the time of

enlarged her desire, and opened her mouth without measure : and their glory, and their multitude, and their pomp, and he that rejoiceth among them, descend *into*
 15 *it*. [R?] And the mean man is bowed down, and the great man is humbled, and the eyes of the lofty are hum-
 16 bled : but the LORD of hosts is exalted in judgement, and God the Holy One is sanctified in righteousness.
 17 [I] Then shall the lambs feed as in their pasture, and the waste places of the fat ones shall wanderers eat.

18 Woe unto them that draw iniquity with cords of vanity,

Isaiah as the mysterious dark abode of the dead beneath the earth, where they led an obscure, joyless existence. From this dark region it was supposed that spirits might be summoned back to the earth by the arts of the necromancer (1 Sam. xxviii). On the Hebrew conceptions respecting Sheol consult Charles' *Eschatology*, &c., pp. 33-37. Probably the Hebrew conceptions respecting Sheol were more limited and vague than those of ancient Babylonia, represented in the legend of the descent of Ishtar to Hades. See note on xiv. 9 foll.

Verses 15 and 16 have all the appearance of an interpolation derived from the Isaianic utterance repeated in ii. 9, 11, 17. Perhaps they were inserted by the editor in the gap left in his defective copy.

Verse 17 presents a picture of pathetic and idyllic beauty : lambs quietly feeding on the grass-covered ruins where once there was pride, pomp, and uproar. The verse is evidently intended by the genius of the seer-poet to contain a contrast to the portrayal in the verse beginning with 'Ah !' that preceded verse 14, now lost. Note a similar contrast in iii. 24. The latter part of verse 17 is not certain as to text. For *wanderers* or 'strangers' (R. V. marg.) it would be better to render 'kids,' based on a slightly different reading of the Hebrew text. This has more probability, as the change of text is very slight and the parallelism with the lambs in the earlier part of the verse is thereby restored.

The fourth strophe (verses 18, 19 and verse 24 or a lost end) is directed against the *wilful doubters and triflers*. They scorn the denunciations of the prophet : "Day of the Lord," you say. We do not believe in this pessimism. Let the day come. Nothing of what you say will ever happen.' These scorners are said by the prophet to drag the heavy load of their guilt and doom upon themselves by their perverse and obstinate refusal to accept the

and sin as it were with a cart rope : that say, Let him 19
make speed, let him hasten his work, that we may see it :
and let the counsel of the Holy One of Israel draw nigh
and come, that we may know it !

Woe unto them that call evil good, and good evil ; that 20
put darkness for light, and light for darkness ; that put
bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter !

Woe unto them that are wise in their own eyes, and 21
prudent in their own sight !

Woe unto them that are mighty to drink wine, and 22

message. They only aggravate their own penalty by thus
tugging at the cords of false and vain confidence as they say 'Let
the judgment come.'

19. It is best to take the verbs as intransitive : ' Let His work
make speed and hasten.' This is not only more in accordance with
Hebrew usage, but renders the parallelism of clauses more exact.

Holy One of Israel: cf. vi. 3 and note on holiness. We
miss the verse with ' therefore ' in this strophe, which recites the
Divine judgment which will overtake this particular sin (cf.
verses 13, 14 : ' Therefore ' probably stood originally at the
beginning of verse 9—' Therefore hath sworn in my ears ' . . .).
It is quite possible, however, that verse 24 originally stood either
at the end of the following strophe or at the end of *this* strophe,
since the last two clauses of that verse seems to be specially
directed against the ' mockers ' in verses 18, 19. If this assump-
tion is correct, we might suppose that, owing to the loss of the
ending to the following strophes, the editor thought it best to
place this verse at the close of the entire oracle, rather than leave
the whole poem without a proper conclusion.

20. The *fifth* strophe (verse 20) is again defective, since it consists
of only three complete lines instead of the usual six. If verse 24
be added, we get the requisite number of lines, but it does not
form so appropriate a conclusion to the fifth as it does to the
fourth strophe. This verse is directed against the sophists who
play fast and loose with morality and use the arts of persuasion
by calling things by their wrong names, exalting what is base by
pandering to evil passions and low ideals, and depreciating what
is good and just.

Translate : ' who set darkness as light and light as darkness,' &c.

21. *Sixth* strophe directed against blind self-conceit. Again
we have several lines missing.

22. *Seventh* strophe directed against the heroic tippler, who

23 men of strength to mingle strong drink : which justify the wicked for a reward, and take away the righteousness of
 24 the righteous from him ! Therefore as the tongue of fire devoureth the stubble, and as the dry grass sinketh down in the flame, so their root shall be as rottenness, and their blossom shall go up as dust : because they have rejected the law of the LORD of hosts, and despised the word of the Holy One of Israel.

does not care for any mild beverage, but mixes the strong intoxicating drink for which Hebrew has a distinct name, *shēkār*. According to one authority it was a kind of brandy made of wine-grounds, dates, and honey¹. This may be the spiced wine of Song of Songs viii. 2.

23. It is not easy to detect the logical connexion between drunkenness and corrupt tribunals. The former vice had been already denounced in the second strophe (verse 11). Translate : 'who acquit the wrong-doer for a bribe and deprive the just man of his right.' The LXX substitute a singular 'just man' for the plural of the Hebrew original 'just men,' and we are thereby saved from a grammatical confusion. The prophet may have intended to convey, through this combination of the two vices, that the crime of injustice becomes easy to a man whose mind is clouded by heavy drinking.

24. For law read 'instruction,' as in i. 9. The rapid decay of society from root to blossom is to be the inevitable result of its vices of levity and disbelief—swift as the devouring flame that consumes the stubble and the dry grass. Both Duhm and Marti are strangely hypercritical and see here incompatible figures. On the contrary, we find here vivid metaphors eminently characteristic and worthy of Isaiah. We have a partial parallel from the same hand in ix. 18, 19.

(3) 25-30. We come now to the third portion of the composite collection of oracles of which chap. v consists. We have already noted the defective condition of the second portion (a). We have now to deal with a mere fragment, the conclusion of a larger poem, torn from its connexion. Fortunately the earlier portion of this poem has been preserved to us in another small collection of Isaiah's prophecies, vi.—xi. 9. We find it in ix. 7—x. 4. Here we

¹ *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästinavereins* (1888), pp. 168 foll., cited by Marti.

Therefore is the anger of the LORD kindled against his ²⁵ people, and he hath stretched forth his hand against them, and hath smitten them, and the hills did tremble, and their carcases were as refuse in the midst of the streets. For all this his anger is not turned away, but his hand is stretched out still. And he will lift up an ²⁶ ensign to the nations from far, and will hiss for them from the end of the earth : and, behold, they shall come with speed swiftly : none shall be weary nor stumble ²⁷ among them ; none shall slumber nor sleep ; neither shall the girdle of their loins be loosed, nor the latchet of

have a poem consisting of four strophes, each of which closes with the same lines that form in this chapter the conclusion of verse ²⁵ :

‘Despite all this His wrath has not turned back¹,
But still is His hand stretched out.’

This poem was directed not against Judah, but Ephraim ; and its date is not improbably 726 B. C. (not 735, as most critics assume), for reasons which are indicated in the prefatory remarks to the poems ix. 7 foll. (cf. also Introduction, pp. 14 foll.).

²⁵ must be a fragment of the fifth or some later strophe of the poem. It begins with the **Therefore** characteristic of Isaiah ; but the form is somewhat varied in the original from that which recurs throughout the preceding oracle (verses 8-24), but is the same as that which meets us in the second strophe of this poem (viz. ix. 17). Carefully compare ix. 17 (16 Heb.) and the conclusion becomes inevitable that the present verse, like that, is the end of the strophe. Its preceding verses have been lost.

²⁶. God summons a foreign nation to execute His vengeance on Ephraim for past iniquities and refusal to learn from bitter experience. The foreign foe is evidently Assyria (see Introduction).

For **nations** read singular ‘nation.’ The Hebrew word is *gōi*, meaning always *foreign* nation.

²⁷. The girdle (*ēsōr*) was not a mere waistband, which would be inadequate to military exigencies, but, as the Assyrian monuments show, was probably a ‘cord or leather belt as now worn by eastern monks’ (Dr. Mackie’s article ‘Dress’ in Hastings’ *DB*). The *shoes*, as the monuments portray them, consisted of a stout sole made of leather or wood, the back protected by leather, and

¹ On the phrase ‘turned back’ (= ceased, abated) see note on chap. ix. 12.

28 their shoes be broken : whose arrows are sharp, and all their bows bent ; their horses' hoofs shall be counted like 29 flint, and their wheels like a whirlwind : their roaring shall be like a lion, they shall roar like young lions : yea, they shall roar, and lay hold of the prey, and carry it away safe, 30 and there shall be none to deliver. And they shall roar against them in that day like the roaring of the sea : and if one look unto the land, behold darkness *and* distress, and the light is darkened in the clouds thereof.

6 [I] In the year that king Uzziah died I saw the Lord

the whole bound over the foot by thongs or straps (see 'Shoe' in *Enc. Bibl.*).

28. For **sharp** read 'sharpened,' and continue : 'and all bows bent,' as the relative construction is kept up. The bows are bent and arrows sharpened ready for immediate use. Every warrior is alert and advancing rapidly to action. The wheels are the large heavy wheels of the Assyrian chariot thundering on its way and raising clouds of dust like a storm.

29. The tumult of the advancing hosts and the roar of the chariots seem to the vivid imagination of the seer like the sound of a savage beast moaning or roaring for its hapless victim.

30. The simile changes to an image more awful : a roaring sea and thick darkness brooding over the land. 'And when one looks to the land, behold ! agonizing darkness, and light is darkened in its gloom.' There is much doubt as to the last word rendered 'gloom.' The LXX render : 'And they shall look unto the land and behold oppressive darkness in their distress.' This presupposes some other shorter text than that which stands in the Hebrew.

CHAPTERS VI-IX. 7 (6 HEB.) BOOK OF IMMANUEL.

We are now entering upon a new series of documents of a more biographical character, and in which a certain chronological order is apparent. Oracles, however, are included in this small collection, and it is concluded, like the series chaps. ii-iv, by a Messianic prophecy. In chap. vii, in connexion with the events of the Syro-Ephraimite war, we are introduced to the prophetic conceptions personified in the name *Immanuel*. We find the Messianic ideal set forth yet more luminously in the concluding oracle which may have been uttered at the close of the prophet's life (cf. ii. 2-4 and notes). We therefore call this collection (vi-ix. 7) the *Book of Immanuel*. Chap. vi describes the commencement of

sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up, and his train

the prophet's ministry. The work of the Hebrew prophet was not infrequently inaugurated by a consecration-vision—a theophany in which the prophet is summoned to his life-work. Moses (Exod. iii), Samuel (1 Sam. iii), and Ezekiel (Ezek. i, ii) were each called to his prophetic function by a remarkable and vivid manifestation of God's presence. But to other prophets God fulfils Himself in other and more normal ways. And it is through these normal ways 'the word of the Lord came' unto Hosea (through the domestic tragedy of his life), Amos, Micah, Jeremiah, and other prophets. It is one of the most mischievous delusions of religious life to unduly exalt the abnormal¹.

We have no criterion by which to decide whether this chapter and the next were composed by the prophet himself (Kuenen), or as Cheyne suggests (*Enc. Bibl.*), by a disciple of Isaiah. The date of composition cannot be ascertained. Kuenen is probably right in assuming that chap. vi was written some time, but probably not long, after the event, at a period when the real nature of his life-task was fully realized by the prophet, and the superhuman difficulties which lay before him. These darker aspects are so strongly emphasized in the chapter that we can best explain its general tone from the standpoint of mature age rather than early youth. Cheyne (*ibid.*) refers the composition to the year 734, which is not an improbable date.

The position of the chapter in the entire Isaianic collection is very unusual. In the collection bearing the name of Jeremiah and in the book of Ezekiel's prophecies the call of the prophet naturally comes first. Here the final redaction has departed from this tradition.

1. This opening verse, as well as Amos i. 1; Isa. xiv. 28, xx. 1; Jer. xlvi. 1, bears the impress of pre-exilian authorship. Winckler (*Alttestam. Untersuch.* p. 89) shows that these passages reveal the pre-exilian tradition of the Hebrews, who dated from

¹ The *normal* mode by which Christian ministers and statesmen have been led to realize their vocation constitutes the most interesting point in their life-story, because it is the *turning-point*. Among Christian statesmen we would instance the Englishman John Bright and the American Senator Sumner. The case of John Bright is not without its partial parallel to that of Hosea. That of Senator Sumner has been portrayed in Whittier's immortal verses beginning :

No trumpet sounded in his ear,
He saw not Sinai's cloud and flame;
But never yet to Hebrew seer
A clearer voice of Duty came.

2 filled the temple. Above him stood the seraphim : each one had six wings ; with twain he covered his face, and

special events, as the Babylonians did before 2000 b.c. After 1500 b.c. the latter dated from the years of the king's reign ; and during, as well as after, the Exile the Hebrews followed the same practice.

The date of Uzziah's death cannot be definitely fixed, and we may now place it as far back as 740 b.c. or even earlier, since Winckler has shown the improbability of the identification of Uzziah (or Azariah) with the Azri-a-u of Tiglath-Pileser's inscriptions (see art. 'Uzziah' in Hastings' *DB.*).

The scene is laid in the outer court of the temple¹. Yahweh's throne towers up into the heaven. What seems like the train of His Divine robe fills the temple. It is fairly obvious that the temple here referred to is not God's celestial palace-abode (*hēchāl*) to which Ps. xviii. 6 (7 Heb.) alludes, but the temple of Solomon familiar to the prophet.

2. 'Seraphs were standing above Him.' The Hebrew imperfects are best rendered by 'was covering,' 'was flying.' There has been considerable discussion as to the character and form of these winged Seraphim. This is the first mention of the Seraph as a supernatural attendant on Yahweh that meets us in the O. T., and there is no mention again of Seraphim in either O. T. or N. T., though the song of the four beasts in Rev. iv. 8 is certainly a reminiscence taken from the third verse of this chapter. The facts which must lie at the basis of any theory should be (1) The use of the word *sārāph* in Num. xxi. 6 as an epithet ('burning') of the destructive fiery serpents of the wilderness ; (2) In two genuine passages of Isaiah (xiv. 29², xxx. 6) we have express mention of a flying dragon (or *Sārāph*). On these grounds we may infer that we have here a serpentine figure of a burning or fiery appearance or perhaps with glowing eyes, and from the passage before us we learn that it had six wings.

Two illustrative comparisons have been cited for us—(1) The Assyriologists Fried, Delitzsch and Fritz Hommel quote the Babylonian name for the solar fire-god Nergal, *sharrāpu*, but this parallel gives us no real guidance ; moreover, there is insufficient evidence that Babylonia at this time (740 b.c. or earlier) exercised any special influence in Judah. In the days of Ahaz it may have been otherwise. (2) More attractive is the parallel originally

¹ Not the inner sanctuary (*debhîr*) as Cheyne concludes ('Seraphim,' *Enc. Bibl.*). The reference to the 'threshold' (verse 4) seems to forbid this.

² The genuineness is disputed in this case ; see the notes.

with twain he covered his feet, and with twain he did fly.
And one cried unto another, and said, Holy, holy, holy, is 3

suggested by H. G. Tomkins, who compares the Egyptian *Seref*, which was a winged griffin and guarded the graves or sacred lonely trees. This cult, according to Pietschmann, *Phönister*, pp. 175 foll., belonged to Syria as well as Egypt, and it seems to have some points of contact with the Seraph. Like the Cherûbim which guarded the entrance to Paradise, Gen. iii. 24 (Yahwistic and pre-exilian), and also the ark in the holy place, so the Seraphim guarded the thresholds of the temple (verse 3), which were held to be especially liable to demonic influence (1 Sam. v. 5 : hence the bells on priests' clothing, Exod. xxviii. 33-35; and cf. 'Sorcery' in Hastings' *DB*. p. 603, left-hand column). Note also the winged lions of Assyrian temples and palaces, and the blood-smeared door-posts, Exod. xii. 22 foll.). But the figured illustration of a winged 'four-footed' animal in Pietschmann's work, p. 177, does not increase the probability of this comparison of the Egyptian *Seref*. The reference to the threshold in verse 3 is only incidental, and the conception of the Sârâph as a guardian power against demons, though probable, requires further evidence. For further information see 'Seraphim' in Hastings' *DB*.

2. The *feet* mean the lower parts of the body (a euphuism).

3. The application to God of the word *holy* requires some explanation, as the original significance of the word was not ethical, and therefore by no means synonymous with 'righteous.' The fundamental idea has generally been considered to be that of separation, i. e. from ordinary human contact or use. But Kittel holds it to be hardly probable that so negative a conception was the primitive and fundamental one, and that *devotion* to the Deity and His use was the *positive* conception originally expressed by the term. About this it is difficult to decide. It seems clear, however, that the idea of *taboo* attaching to objects and persons was very similar to that which originally belonged to the Hebrew *Kôdedh* (holiness) and its collaterals. But the idea of devotion to and close connexion with Deity became undoubtedly the fundamental conception of the word combined with that of restriction as to employment or behaviour. But the devotion of an object or person to God means conformity of that object or person to the nature of God Himself. Consequently, as we find in Hebrew history, reflected in its literature, an evolution in the conception of the character and requirements of Yahweh, so a progress is clearly apparent in the meaning attached to the words 'holy' and 'holiness.' At first in the history of religion the term was merely ceremonial and not ethical. Even the priest or priestess of a degraded and licentious cult was called 'holy' because devoted to

the LORD of hosts : the whole earth is full of his glory.
 4 And the foundations of the thresholds were moved at the voice of him that cried, and the house was filled with
 5 smoke. Then said I, Woe is me ! for I am undone ; because I am a man of unclean lips, and I dwell in the midst of a people of unclean lips : for mine eyes have
 6 seen the King, the LORD of hosts. Then flew one of the

the service of the Deity. But as the conception of Yahweh became ethicized the term *holy* became ethicized also. This is especially true of Amos and Isaiah, who emphasized God's nature as righteous. The term 'holy' as a designation of God seems characteristic of Phoenicia as well as Israel, for we find in Eshmunazar's inscription, line 9, the expression 'holy gods.' As employed by Isaiah, the word connotes the *exalted and supreme divinity* of Yahweh, with special stress on His character as perfectly righteous whose presence could not be approached by sinful men. In Ezekiel (chaps. xl foll.) and Leviticus (xvii-xxvi) stress is laid on ritual purity and cleanliness, a conception which becomes prominent in the post-exilian legislation of the Priester-codex. But here it is Yahweh's *ethical* attributes, combined with those of exaltation and unapproachableness, that are expressed by the word. The literature on this subject is considerable. The most important works are Baudissin's *Studien sur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, Heft II (prefaced by a useful list of literature); Robertson Smith's *Religion of the Semites*², pp. 140-164; Dr. Skinner's article 'Holiness' (in the O. T.) in Hastings' *DB.*; and Kittel's article 'Heiligkeit Gottes im A. T.' contributed to the last edition (3rd) of the *Realencyclopädie* (*PRE.*³).

The thrice repeated *Holy* expresses emphasis, as in Jer. xxii. 29. Hebrew presents many examples of repetition to express emphasis. To refer the threefold repetition to the doctrine of the Trinity (as the old expositors did, including even the late Franz Delitzsch) is an evident anachronism both here and in Rev. iv. 8.

'Filling (*lit. fullness of*) the earth is His *glory*.' The *glory* is the *external* manifestation of the Divine nature as opposed to *holiness*, which expresses the *internal* character (so Kittel, *ibid.*).

4. Render : 'And the foundations . . . rocked.'

The smoke fills the temple, and is seen by the prophet issuing from the portico as he lies prostrated in worship in the outer court. Smoke is usually associated with Divine wrath, Ps. xviii. 8, lxxiv. 1, lxxx. 5 (Heb.); Rev. xv. 8. The wrath is obviously directed against the prevailing human iniquity ; cf. verses 5, 9 foll.

5. Cf. note on i. 12. Not only is the prophet oppressed by his

seraphim unto me, having a live coal in his hand, which he had taken with the tongs from off the altar: and he 7 touched my mouth with it, and said, Lo, this hath touched thy lips; and thine iniquity is taken away, and thy sin purged. And I heard the voice of the Lord, saying, 8 Whom shall I send, and who will go for us? Then I said, Here am I; send me. And he said, Go, and tell this people, 9 Hear ye indeed, but understand not; and see ye indeed, but perceive not. Make the heart of this people fat, and 10 make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes; lest they see

own sins, but by the tainted moral atmosphere in the midst of which he dwells.

6. 7. Read with R. V. (marg.) 'hot stone,' like the glowing stones with which bread was baked (1 Kings xix. 6). The touching of the lips or organs of human speech seems to be in anticipation of the future prophetic calling. Fire cleanses, and is one of the means of counter-working evil resorted to by magic (Morris Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia*, pp. 276 foll.).

For purged read 'covered' or 'atoned-for.'

8. for us. Yahweh in His conversation with the Seraphim includes them in the counsels which the prophet is to obey. Christ raises the angels to a like honour in Luke xv. 7, 10. They co-operate in the work of creation, Gen. i. 26; Job xxxviii. 7.

The reply of the young prophet with its bold alacrity is in striking contrast to the utter prostration depicted in verse 5. The sense of relief brought by the experience of lips touched with the burning stone, of sin forgiven, and the fetters of the past broken, has worked wonders. His heart leaps in response to the call.

9. But when the terms of the Divine command were announced his heart must again have sunk within him! The original conveys a stronger meaning, in accordance with the Hebrew idiom of the absolute infinitive when placed after the verb (Gesenius-Kautzsch²⁸, § 113, 3, 6), than A.V. or R.V. gives in the English rendering. Therefore translate—

Go on hearing, yet understand not;
Go on seeing, yet perceive not.

This was to be the prophet's bitter experience shaped in the form of the scathing *εἰπαντία* of command (cf. i. 18 and notes). Prophets not infrequently spoke in this strain, 1 Kings xviii. 27.

10 continues in the same vein of burning satire. Translate with Cheyne—'Make dull (*lit. heavy*) their ears and besmear their

with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand
 11 with their heart, and turn again, and be healed. Then
 said I, Lord, how long? And he answered, Until cities
 be waste without inhabitant, and houses without man, and
 12 the land become utterly waste, and the LORD have re-
 moved men far away, and the forsaken places be many in
 13 the midst of the land. And if there be yet a tenth in it, it
 shall again be eaten up: as a terebinth, and as an oak,
 whose stock remaineth, when they are felled; so the holy
 seed is the stock thereof.

eyes,' and in place of the R.V. read with the margin, 'and their heart should understand.' The final clause should then be: 'and they be healed again.' This is more in accordance with Hebrew idiom, but the translation of the R.V. *and turn again, and be healed* is also possible, and has the support of other passages in Isaiah; e.g. the name of his son Sheār-yāshūb, vii. 3, ix. 1 foll.; cf. x. 21 foll. This rendering has, moreover, the support of LXX and Matt. xiii. 15, Acts xxviii. 27—all of which read καὶ λάσομαι αὐτούς, 'and I shall heal them.' In the N.T. use of the passage *turn again*, &c., 'return' means 'be converted.'

11. The young prophet asks in despair how long this fruitless ministry is to continue. The answer comes with a sentence of doom to Israel. It would be best to follow Cheyne, Duhm and Marti in adopting the slight variation of Hebrew text presupposed in the LXX, καταλειφθήσεται, 'and the land be left a desolation.'

12. 'And the deserted tracts spread far and wide amid the land.' Follow the R.V. (marg.) and read 'burnt' for 'eaten up.'

13. *the holy seed is the stock thereof* is an explanatory gloss. It does not find a place in the copy of the LXX, and was evidently a very late interpolation intended to comfort the reader. Yet it hardly can be said to harmonize with the preceding clause, which apparently means that even the stock or tenth part of the tree which remains will in its turn suffer destruction. The consecration-vision and the words of the Divine commission close in unrelieved gloom. Similarly the roll given to Ezekiel at his inauguration to the prophetic office is written before and behind 'with lamentation, mourning, and woe' (Ezek. ii. 10). But here the resemblance between the consecration-vision of Isaiah and that of Ezekiel may be said to cease. In the one case we have stately and severe simplicity, and in the other elaborate and complex effects. There is far more impressive sublimity and power in Isa. vi than in Ezek. i.

[R I] And it came to pass in the days of Ahaz the son of Jotham, the son of Uzziah, king of Judah, that Rezin the king of Syria, and Pekah the son of Remaliah, king of Israel, went up to Jerusalem to war against it; but could not prevail against it. And it was told the house of David, saying, Syria is confederate with Ephraim. And his heart was moved, and the heart of his people, as the trees of the forest are moved with the wind.

CHAPTER VII.

1-16. Judah invaded by the forces of Resin and Pekah. Interview between Ahaz and Isaiah. The Sign of Immanuel.

Chaps. vi, vii follow each other in the chronological order of the events described. We now move on several years in the prophet's life since the consecration-vision of the previous chapter. Probably as much as six (or more probably five) years may have elapsed. The date of the events described in chap. vii may be placed in 735-4 B.C. On the Syro-Ephraimite war see Introduction.

¹ is usually held to be a redatorial preface based on 2 Kings xvi. 5. For **prevail** read 'fight.' Before the actual attack on Jerusalem could take place the enemies were obliged to withdraw their forces. The reason is not assigned. Probably the allied kings obtained news of the combination between Assyria and Judah, and that help was promised by the former to Ahaz in his difficulties. In this verse we have only a brief summary for the information of the reader.

² does not follow in any chronological sequence upon verse 1. The news is brought of the threatening movement of the allied kings against Jerusalem. For **is confederate with Ephraim** read 'is encamped on Ephraimite territory.' By the **house of David** would be meant the royal court, which doubtless included a large number of the descendants of Uzziah as well as Jotham, since every eastern monarch had his harem and numerous progeny; cf. 2 Kings x. 1 foll.: 'And his heart and that of his people shook as shake the forest trees before the wind.' They were in terror of ruthless extinction such as Jehu inflicted on the house of Omri. We know from verse 6 that it was the intention of the allied kings to place the 'son of Tabeel' on the throne of Judah. This may have been Rezin himself. In any case the extinction of the Davidic house would have been the inevitable consequence.

3 [I] Then said the LORD unto Isaiah, Go forth now to meet Ahaz, thou, and Shear-jashub thy son, at the end of the conduit of the upper pool, in the high way of the fuller's

3. The name *Sheār-Yāshūb* means 'Remnant shall return' or 'be converted.' Most commentators assign to the Hebrew verb here the latter or ethical meaning, otherwise the name can only be interpreted to mean that a remnant shall return from exile after the inhabitants have been carried away into captivity. Such a conception of the exile of the southern inhabitants and their subsequent return can hardly have held a place in the prophetic conceptions of 735 B.C., before Judah had even been threatened by the Assyrian invader, and the northern or Ephraimite kingdom had suffered but little. The word 'return' in this proper name must therefore be interpreted in a religious sense as 'return to Yahweh,' 'be converted'; cf. Hos. xiv. 2. Isaiah gave significant and prophetic names to his children, just as Hosea did in the northern kingdom (Hos. i). It is not easy to determine the locality of the *conduit of the upper pool* or of the *fuller's field*. Cheyne waits for further exploration before pronouncing an opinion, while Marti, with more confidence, thinks it probable that the 'upper pool' is to be found in the pool disclosed by Guthe's excavations, lying north-east of the present pool of Siloam and south of the Tyropoeon valley. From this pool a canal or conduit passes outside the city to the present gardens of Silwan, and therefore, as we might assume, towards the old 'fuller's (or washer's) field.' The reader should consult the maps in Bädeker's *Palestine and Syria* of ancient Jerusalem, and also that of its environs, as well as the two maps in *Enc. Bibl.* under 'Jerusalem.' See also Stade's *Gesch. Isr.* pp. 591 foll. and *Zeitsch. des deutschen Palästinavereins*, 1882, pp. 271 foll.). In war the end of the conduit would certainly be stopped up, and the waters from the 'upper pool' would be collected in a lower one which lay inside the walls, so that the city might be provided with a full water-supply. Those who support this view of Stade and Guthe rely on xxii. 9 foll., which indicate that the upper pool lay on the south side, since the lower one lay there. But this inference Dillmann in his commentary (followed apparently by the subsequent editor Kittel) regards as not logical. The upper pool may have had a different locality, and it does not follow that Rabshakeh, when he came from Lachish (lying south-west), took up a position south of the city. According to xxxvi. 2 Rabshakeh with his army halted by the conduit of the upper pool, near the 'highway of the fuller's field.' This was the spot where he met Hezekiah's emissaries. From Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, v. 7. 3, we learn that in the Roman period it was believed that the Assyrian camp lay north of the city, and that a

field ; and say unto him, Take heed, and be quiet ; fear not, neither let thine heart be faint, because of these two tails of smoking firebrands, for the fierce anger of Rezin and Syria, and of the son of Remaliah. Because Syria hath counselled evil against thee, Ephraim *also*, and the son of Remaliah, saying, Let us go up against Judah, and vex it, and let us make a breach therein for us, and set up a king in the midst of it, even the son of Tabeel : thus

'fuller's monument' was to be seen there (v. 4. 2). In addition to this it has been argued that the armies of Rezin and Pekah would be likely to advance against the city on the north rather than the south side. Accordingly the older commentators, Ewald, Hitzig, and others, held that the 'upper pool' and the 'fuller's field' should be assigned to that region, and this view has been confirmed by recent investigations, which have revealed the existence of a conduit which entered the city east of the present Damascus gate, and taking a southerly course passed into a long (now subterranean) double pool just in front of the old tower of Antonia, and probably penetrated even further, into the temple precincts. It has been argued that this conduit must have existed in ancient times. The evidence, however, cannot be said to be conclusive, nor does the testimony of Josephus more than seven centuries after the event carry with it much weight. The balance of proof inclines rather to the position maintained by Stade, Guthe, and Marti. At present Cheyne's reserve of judgment seems justified.

4. 'and let not thy heart be dismayed (or faint), because of these two ends (Cheyne : 'fag-ends') of smoking logs, in the blazing wrath of Rezin and Aram, and Remaliah's son.' The last expression is one of contempt. Remaliah was an obscure personage.

6. By a slight change of the Hebrew text we obtain a more satisfactory sense. The LXX rendering shows that the text here is uncertain. Translate: 'We will beleaguer it, and make a breach into it.'

son of Tabeel. This parallel expression to 'son of Remaliah,' which was a contemptuous way of designating Pekah as a person of obscure origin, suggests that Rezin is similarly designated. Winckler argues that Tabel reigned in Damascus circ. 773-740 (?) B. C. It is not improbable that his Syrian name was Tab-Rammān, since Rammān (Rimmon) was a Syrian deity (cf. 2 Kings v. 18). He might be also called Tabel, since we know that *el* (the ordinary word for 'god') might be substituted for the proper name of

saith the Lord GOD, It shall not stand, neither shall it
 8 come to pass. For the head of Syria is Damascus, and
 the head of Damascus is Rezin: [R] and within three-
 score and five years shall Ephraim be broken in pieces,
 9 that it be not a people: [I] and the head of Ephraim is
 Samaria, and the head of Samaria is Remaliah's son. If
 ye will not believe, surely ye shall not be established.

10, 11 And the LORD spake again unto Ahaz, saying, Ask thee

a deity in personal names. Thus in Sargon's inscriptions the same king is called now *Jahu-bi'di*, and at another time *Ilu-bi'di*, where *Yahu* corresponds to the Hebrew *Yahweh*, and *Ilu* to the Hebrew *El*. See Winckler, *A. T.-liche Untersuch.*, pp. 60-76 (a chronological scheme of the kings of Damascus is given on p. 76).

8. The latter part of this verse, with its exact numerical details, is very unlike the style of Isaiah, and has therefore been regarded by many critics as a subsequent addition. It is difficult to see its purpose or meaning. It obviously interrupts the continuity of verses 8 and 9. Its purpose is obscure, since relief from the presence of the northern kingdom at a time which lies outside the duration of the life of Ahaz would hardly serve to encourage the king's heart. Its meaning is somewhat obscure. The final overthrow of Ephraim took place in 722-1, when the city was captured and its inhabitants deported to the Euphrates. The date of this prophecy can be definitely fixed as 735. The sixty-five years bring us to 669 b. c., the reign of Esarhaddon. This Assyrian monarch reigned from 681-668 b. c., and, as we learn from Ezra iv. 2-10, settled colonists from the Euphrates in Samaria. This statement receives some support from the cuneiform records of Esarhaddon. See Schrader, *COT.*, ii. p. 61 foll. The settlement of this foreign population in the lands once occupied by the proud race of Ephraim might well be regarded by the inhabitants of Judaea as the final extinction of the nationality of their northern neighbours.

'If ye believe not, surely ye abide not secure.' Duhm (cf. Stade, *Gesch. Israels*, p. 594, footnote 2) remarks on this perhaps the earliest passage that lays stress on *faith*, unless it be Gen. xii. 1 foll., xv. 6. Here the direct object of faith is the word of the prophet, but that word is also the word of the Lord, as the declaration (verse 7) of the prophet himself distinctly asserts. The only path of safety is that which his contemporary Hosea was a few years later pointing out to his Ephraimite countrymen (cf. Hos. xiv. 2-4), viz. loyalty to Yahweh and independence of foreign alliances.

. 10-17. The preceding utterances of the prophet seem to have

a sign of the LORD thy God ; ask it either in the depth, or in the height above. But Ahaz said, I will not ask, ¹² neither will I tempt the LORD. And he said, Hear ye ¹³ now, O house of David ; is it a small thing for you to weary men, that ye will weary my God also ? Therefore ¹⁴ the Lord himself shall give you a sign ; behold, a virgin

failed of their purpose to rouse the fainting courage of Ahaz as he heard the news of the junction of the allied armies at a short distance across the northern frontier. Apparently he does not sympathize in the feeling of contempt for the two royal leaders expressed by the prophet (verses 4-9), and exhibits no indication of trust in Yahweh for deliverance.

11. Accordingly the prophet renews his appeal to the king : 'Ask for thyself a sign from Yahweh, thy God, down in the depth to Sheôl (Hades), or high in the height above.' The reading Sheôl is undoubtedly right, and it is supported by the versions Aq., Sym., Vulg. and most modern commentators. The other reading, which is that of A. V. and R. V., is based on another punctuation of the Hebrew characters of the word Sheôl which makes it an imperative **ask**, and has the support of the Peshitta (Syriac) version and of the Targ. It is probably due, at least in part, to the endeavour to avoid the suggestion of necromancy. It is indeed possible that the summoning of 'spirits from the vasty deep' was one of the signs which Ahaz now had it in his power to claim. Such a view, however, seems to run counter to Isaiah's own exhortation to his degenerate countrymen in the following chapter (viii. 19 foll.). The wide contrast of Sheôl beneath and the height above is intended to express the wide range of choice permitted to the unbelieving king in the sign for which he is to ask. Ewald appositely compares Korân, Sur. vi. 35.

12. The cold and disdainful apathy of the king, who declines to be thus caught in the toils of argument with the prophet, is expressed in the answer, 'I will not put Yahweh to the test.'

13. The wrathful impatience of the prophet breaks forth in the words : 'Is it too slight a thing for you to weary men, that you weary even my God ?'

14. God will *Himself* (note the pronoun in Heb.) give you a sign, though unsolicited by you. The sign is to establish the faith of the king in the prophet's word, that the power of the allied kings is really of no account and is destined to disappear.

The latter part of this verse has been the subject of much discussion, and great diversity of opinion has been held as to the denotation of the term *virgin* here and of the son Immanuel.

shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name

With regard to the *connotation* of the Hebrew word for *virgin* scholars are agreed. That word is '*almah*', and does not mean simply 'maid' or unmarried woman, which is expressed in Hebrew by a different word (*viz.* *bethûlah*), but it means, as Robertson Smith has pointed out (*Prophets of Israel*, p. 272), no more than 'a young woman of age to be a mother¹', whether she be married or not. We have a clear instance of this in Prov. xxx. 19. But to this substantive an *article* is prefixed, and there has been a considerable difference of opinion as to the significance to be attached to it. Usually the definite article has in Hebrew, as in other languages, an individualizing force. But it may have here, as some scholars suppose, an indeterminate force, rendered in R. V. by 'a virgin.' In Hebrew we have not infrequently examples of this use of the article to designate a person or thing which is for the present unknown. Here it would mean: Some virgin through whom the sign announced will be realized (Gesenius-Kautzsch's *Heb. Gram.*²⁶ § 126. 4r²).

Accordingly, various theories have been advanced as to the signification of the reference to the 'young woman' and the 'son' in this passage. Following Dillmann, we may enumerate them as follows:—

(1) Ecclesiastical tradition, based on Matt. i. 22 foll., has interpreted the word as 'virgin,' and has referred it to the Virgin Mary and the birth of Christ. This was supported by the older expositors, including Hengstenberg and our own Henderson (whose exegesis and etymology are alike extraordinary). It is quite obvious that Isaiah could not possibly have intended to convince Ahaz and his unbelieving retinue ('house of David') by a sign which would not take place till more than seven centuries had elapsed.

(2) The word '*almah*' was held by some of the older Jewish expositors to denote one of the women in the harem of Ahaz (so Kimhi and Abarbanel), others have held that the mother of Hezekiah was meant. But unless we are to reject altogether the numerical details of a King, xvi. 2, xviii. 2, we must hold with Jerome that chronological considerations are against this latter view, since Hezekiah would then have been born in 734 B. C., and

¹ Cf. Duhm, *Theologie der Propheten*, footnote, pp. 164 foll. Other examples of the use of '*almah*' may be found in Gen. xxiv. 13, 16; Song of Songs vi. 8.

² Cf. Moore's note on Judges vii. 13 (*hā-θel*), 'The definite article is idiomatically used in Hebrew when an object is made definite in the *imagination* of the speaker by what is done with or to it in the story.'

Immanuel. Butter and honey shall he eat, when he ^{is} ₁₅

yet at his accession (726, 719, and 715 b. c. are the various dates suggested) was twenty-five years old. It may here be remarked that, amid the uncertainty which besets the numerical statements of the Bible in the chronology of the regal period to the end of the eighth century, it is difficult to discuss this view satisfactorily.

(3) The word '*almah*' has been held to be a well-understood personification of the House of David (Hoffmann, Köhler and Weir), or of the community in Zion (E. Meier and Orelli). This involves a personification which has numerous parallels. It is quite possible that in the days of Isaiah the word '*almah*' was constantly employed to designate the Zion community, just as *bethulah* is applied to Israel in Amos v. 2; Jer. xviii. 13, xxxi. 4, 21. The use of the definite article with particularizing force would thus be quite appropriate.

(4) Rashi and Aben Ezra among mediaeval Jewish expositors, and Hermann Schultz (*Altestamentliche Theol.*⁵, p. 618) among modern exegetes, hold that Isaiah's own wife is meant. But his wife was already mother of Sheär-yāshùbh, and could not therefore be '*almah*'. Moreover, in viii. 3 the wife of the prophet is called 'prophetess.' It is gratuitous to suppose that yet another younger woman is meant, as Gesenius, Bunsen, and some of the older scholars imagined.

(5) A few commentators belonging to the first fifty years of the last century (e. g. Umbreit) held that by the term 'the young woman' the prophet was pointing to some pregnant young woman standing close at hand¹. But this was an indelicate act hardly possible in the ancient oriental world.

(6) A considerable number of recent commentators (beginning with Michaelis, and including Roorda, Kuenen, &c.), following the grammatical explanation of the definite article set forth above, regard 'the young woman' as some undefined personage, since her personality has no importance ascribed to it. Immanuel is then interpreted to be the image or representative of the new era that was dawning. But in verse 15 we have something more than an ideal personage. It is a definite concrete reality in the prophet's mind, which in viii. 8 is specially addressed. These considerations appear to us fairly strong. On the other hand, Stade and Duhm follow Hitzig in regarding verse 15 as a later

¹ Cheyne cites Bevan, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vi. (1894), pp. 220 foll., where an Arabian story is mentioned, told by Ibn Hisham, that a Jew of Medina uttered a prediction the sign of which consisted simply in the fact that a boy present in the company (the narrator of the story) will live to see the prediction fulfilled.

16 knoweth to refuse the evil, and choose the good. For

addition, and are thus able to surmount the objection (so also Marti).

(7) Lastly, Ewald and Orelli, followed by Briggs and Guthe, while regarding the *'almah* as the unknown mother of Immanuel, interpret the name Immanuel in a more distinctly Messianic sense, and connect it with the more definite Messianic predictions in Isa. ix. 1-6 and xi. 1 foll. These passages, on the other hand, Hackmann, Cheyne, and Marti consider to be not Isaianic in origin, but the productions of a later post-exilian (?) writer (like Mic. v. 2). We have already (in dealing with ii. 2-4) had occasion to refuse assent to these views so far as ix. 1-6 and xi. 1 foll. are concerned, which Duhm regards as the genuine productions of Isaiah. We are justified, therefore, in regarding the personality of Immanuel as representing the truth embodied in his name—the watchword 'God is with us.' The new Divine kingdom of righteousness and peace symbolized by the name and portrayed in the Isaianic oracles just mentioned would not be established till the troubles of the Assyrian invasions (v. 26 foll. and vii. 18 foll., viii. 7 foll.) had passed away, and the overthrow of Assyria had been accomplished (ix. 1-4).

After reviewing these varied opinions, our judgment inclines to accept the suggestion of Meier (3), that the enigmatic term 'the young woman' or 'the maiden' was at that time a current designation of the Jewish community in Jerusalem, out of which the ideal ruler with the name Immanuel was to be born, and that there would gather round his personality the group of Messianic ideas just indicated (7).

This Immanuel prophecy thus became the germ out of which a cycle of Messianic conceptions grew. We find them in Jer. xxiii. 5-8, xxx. 9, 21, xxxiii. 15-17; Ezek. xxxiv. 23-31, xxxvii. 24; and also in Zech. iii. 8-10. But in the days of Zechariah (as well as in those of Ezekiel) the person of a Davidic king was beginning to recede and give place to that of the High Priest, who in the later days of the Maccabees usurped a royal pre-eminence and authority. In the days of the Exile and in post-exilian times Messianic prophecy tended to lose the distinctive Isaianic feature of the ideal King until its revival in Ps. lxxii. This yearning for an ideal Divine ruler and redeemer finds its ultimate fulfilment in Jesus Christ, the focus and embodiment of all the highest anticipations of His race. It is in this sense Jesus came to 'fulfil,' not in mere casual, external and superficial forms of coincidence, but in essence, in spirit and in truth, 'all that the prophets have spoken.'

18. 'to reject the evil and to choose the good' is a phrase employed to mean 'able to discriminate,' 'capable of intelligence.'

before the child shall know to refuse the evil, and choose the good, the land whose two kings thou abhorrest shall be forsaken. The LORD shall bring upon thee, and upon thy people, and upon thy father's house, days that have not come, from the day that Ephraim departed from Judah ; [R] even the king of Assyria.

[I] And it shall come to pass in that day, that the LORD 18

Another expression is employed in chap. viii. 2. A parallel to the phrase employed here we find in Gen. ii. 9, 17, where 'knowledge of good and evil' is used to express not perception of moral distinctions, but *knowledge, intelligence in general*; cf. Deut. i. 39.

'Sour milk (or curds) and honey shall he eat.' Doughty, in *Arabia Deserta*, vol. i. p. 263, tells us that the wandering tribes in Arabia consider the milk of their camels and their flocks much more refreshing if it has been slightly fermented or soured by being poured into the milk-skin, on the inner side of which are still sticking sour clots from the previous milking and there shaken for a brief period. This kind of sour milk was called by the Hebrew *hem'ah*. See article 'Milk' in *Enc. Bibl.* The *honey* is also significant of a primitive condition of life and culture characteristic of nomads; cf. Deut. xxxii. 13; Ps. lxxxii. 16; 1 Sam. xiv. 25 foll.; Mark i. 6 (Matt. iii. 4). The young *Immanuel* lives on the plain fare of a nomad, betokening the desolations of war which have left the land bare of everything but the simple products of the desert.

16. *shall be forsaken* means here, 'shall be left desolate.' Cf. similarly chap. vi. 12, where the Hebrew '*asabah*', rendered 'forsaking,' means 'tracts deserted,' or left desolate.

17. *Ephraim departed from Judah*: a reference to the national disaster of the separation of the 'ten tribes,' in the reign of Rehoboam. Most critics are agreed that the final words *king of Assyria* were added as a later explanatory gloss (so Lowth, Eichhorn, Gesenius, Hitzig, Kuenen, Duhm, and Cheyne). On the other hand, Ewald and Delitzsch regard the words as a genuine and effective conclusion to the verse.

Verses 18-25. A series of brief fragments of Isaiah's oracles are appended to the preceding utterance of the prophet. We notice the recurrence of the formula *in that day*, which we have already observed in ii. 20, iii. 18, iv. 2. Probably a considerable interval of time separated these oracles from the preceding—

shall hiss for the fly that is in the uttermost part of the rivers of Egypt, and for the bee that is in the land of 19 Assyria. And they shall come, and shall rest all of them in the desolate valleys, and in the holes of the rocks, and upon all thorns, and upon all pastures.

20 In that day shall the Lord shave with a razor that is hired, *which is* in the parts beyond the River, [R] even with the king of Assyria, [I] the head and the hair of the feet: and it shall also consume the beard.

perhaps as much as two years¹. Meanwhile the prophet noted the signs of the times and the weakness of Judah's position.

18. Some have supposed that the 'fly at the end of Egypt's Nile streams' is a reference to the tsetse fly (so Marti). This points to the southern or Nubian region. On the swarm of flies in Egypt, cf. Exod. viii. 13-20; see also on Isa. xviii. 1. The term used here is quite indefinite. The writer in *Enc. Bibl.* (article 'Fly') suggests the seroot fly of Upper Egypt and Nubia—allied to our horse-fly, and about the size of a wasp: 'Its very powerful mouth-organs inflict a painful wound, in which other flies attempt to lay their eggs. It is a plague to man and beast in the rainy season.' The bee of Syria and Palestine is much more aggressive than that of England (cf. the language of Deut. i. 44 and Ps. cxviii. 12), and chiefly frequents rocks (Deut. xxxii. 13; Ps. lxxxii. 16). We have a similar metaphor of the bee in Homer, *Iliad*, ii. 87; and, just as here, in Aeschylus, *Persae*, 128 foll., of an advancing army.

19. 'And they shall enter and settle all of them in the defiles of the cliffs, and in the rock-clefts, and in all the thorn-bushes and all the pastures.'

20 may be another brief utterance. The 'razor hired on the other side of the river' (Euphrates) means obviously the Assyrians, whom Yahweh is supposed to hire to execute His chastisement on Israel or Judah; it is not quite certain which is to be the object. For *consume* (A. V. and R. V.) read 'remove.'

¹ Hardly, however, can these oracles be assigned, as Cheyne suggests, to the time when Hezekiah was negotiating with Tirhakah, as chronological considerations stand in the way. See Introduction. Tirhakah can scarcely belong to an earlier time than the opening of the seventh century. We might, however, place them in the days of Sargon (720 B. C. after the battle of Raphia, or 711 after the capture of Ashdod).

And it shall come to pass in that day, that a man shall 21 nourish a young cow, and two sheep; and it shall come 22 to pass, for the abundance of milk that they shall give he shall eat butter: for butter and honey shall every one eat that is left in the midst of the land.

And it shall come to pass in that day, that every place, 23 where there were a thousand vines at a thousand silverlings, shall even be for briers and thorns. With arrows 24 and with bow shall one come thither; because all the land shall be briers and thorns. And all the hills that 25 were digged with the mattock, thou shalt not come thither for fear of briers and thorns, but it shall be for the sending forth of oxen, and for the treading of sheep.

And the LORD said unto me, Take thee a great tablet, 8

Verses 21-25 contain another fragment, but it does not appear to be wholly independent of verse 20, unless we follow Dillmann and attach it to verse 15. The invasion of Palestine by the Assyrians destroys agriculture and all the products of tillage. Man reverts to the condition of a nomad or a hunter. He maintains a heifer and two sheep, and lives on the sour milk, eking out his subsistence on that and the wild honey; see note on verse 15. Perhaps there is a tinge of irony in the reference to the abundance.

23. A vine worth a shekel ('silverling' or as. 9d.) would be of superior quality. The land which has been desolated by the Assyrian armies has gone out of cultivation. Instead of vineyards we have thorns and thistles.

24. Such spots can only serve for the huntsman with bow and arrows.

25. The mountains which had been hoed over for vine-culture (cf. chap. v. 2) become now an impenetrable thicket which no one cares to enter, and can only serve for cattle to feed in.

viii. 1-18, though consisting of several portions, evidently belong to nearly the same time, and this time immediately follows that of the prophetic address as well as incidents contained in chap. vii. 1-16. In the latter Isaiah was concerned with the unbelieving king and court. Here he addresses himself to the people.

1-4. A public sign set before the eyes of the people, that

and write upon it with the pen of a man, For Maher-shalal-hash-baz; and I will take unto me faithful witnesses to record, Uriah the priest, and Zechariah the son of Jeberechiah. And I went unto the prophetess; and she conceived, and bare a son. Then said the LORD unto

Samaria and Damascus are shortly to suffer overthrow from the king of Assyria.

1. It is uncertain what the tablet was made of. Another word is employed in the original of xxx. 8, Exod. xxiv. 12, &c. In the present case the Hebrew word means something smooth or polished, whether of metal, stone, or wood. The word rendered *pen* signifies a metal stylus. The 'stylus of an ordinary man' probably bears reference to the *writing* rather than the writing instrument. Accordingly the translation of R. V. margin is to be preferred: 'in common characters,' i. e. such as any passer-by can read. These characters were, of course, not the square Hebrew characters now employed, since these were not used till several centuries later, but the Phoenician characters found twenty-five years ago in the inscription at the bottom of the pool of Siloam, descriptive of the excavation of the conduit leading into the pool. It is probable that this inscription was cut in the rock during Isaiah's lifetime, and the Hebrew characters there used would therefore be those with which the name *Mahér Shālāl Hāš Bas* was written. This name is really a brief sentence, and signifies 'Speeds Booty Hastens Spoil' (the verbs are in reality participles). The preposition 'to' (translated 'for' in R. V. and 'concerning' in A. V.) prefixed to the name properly signifies *possession*. The same preposition is found on a large number of Hebrew seals (see Benzinger's *Hebräische Archäologie*, German ed., p. 258 foll.).

2. Following the LXX, we should make a slight modification of the Hebrew text and so restore the original reading and translate: 'and take as faithful witnesses for me. . . .' In Babylonian contract-tablets the names of the witnesses are appended on the reverse side of the tablet. Whether these names were recorded on this tablet we are not informed. It is somewhat remarkable that the priest Uriah, who was one of the witnesses, is expressly mentioned in Kings xvi. 11 as conniving at the foreign religious innovations of Ahaz, and building an altar according to his request.

3. The wife of Isaiah is here called the *prophetess*. The child is called by a significant name like Sheār-yāshūbh and Immanuel; cf. vii. 3, note. The significance of the name as bearing upon the overwhelming overthrow of the allied kings by the armies of the *allied kings* needs no comment.

me, Call his name Maher-shalal-hash-baz. For before the 4 child shall have knowledge to cry, My father, and, My mother, the riches of Damascus and the spoil of Samaria shall be carried away before the king of Assyria.

And the LORD spake unto me yet again, saying, Forasmuch as this people hath refused the waters of Shiloah that go softly, and rejoice in Rezin and Remaliah's son ;

4. shall be carried is not an exact translation of the Hebrew verb. The rendering should be : 'One shall carry away the riches,' &c. The king of Assyria here mentioned is, of course, Tiglath-Pileser III (745-727 B. C.). See Introduction. In vii. 1-17 there is no mention of the king of Assyria, unless we regard the last clause of verse 17 ('the king of Assyria') as genuine and not an added explanatory gloss. If we take the view of most critics and reject this clause, we must assume that the policy of Ahaz in summoning the mighty power of Assyria to his aid had either not yet been developed or had not then been disclosed to the prophet. But in the brief interval which separated vii. 1-17 from viii. 1-4, the prophet must have become fully cognizant of the ties which bound Ahaz to the Assyrian monarch, and that the latter would be moving his forces against Pekah and Rezin.

5. The discovery of the tunnel leading to the pool of Siloam from the Virgin's Spring, and of the inscription to which reference has been made, throws a welcome light on this verse. The waters of Shiloah (now Silwan) is the image employed by the prophet to represent the silent and beneficent power of Yahweh. The ancient Semites regarded springs as sacred (R. Smith, *RS.* 2, pp. 166-84), and the connexion of this stream and spring with the eastern side of the temple-hill may have been significant. This beautiful image of the Shiloah waters was probably the motive which suggested to the poet of Ps. xlvi the beautiful lines :—

... a river, whose channels bring gladness to God's city,
The sanctuary of the dwellings of the most High.
God is in her midst; she will not shake:
God will help her at break of morn.'

Trust in this God, who works with might and stillness for the welfare and safety of Jerusalem, is opposed to the confidence felt by the court and by the people in the world-power Assyria, represented by the tumultuous waters of the Euphrates or Tigris, which will one day overwhelm Judah (verse 7).

The latter clause of this verse is hopelessly obscured by a wrong reading in the Hebrew text. *rejoice in Rezin* yields no sense,

7 now therefore, behold, the Lord bringeth up upon them
 the waters of the River, strong and many, [R] *even* the
 king of Assyria and all his glory : [I] and he shall come
 8 up over all his channels, and go over all his banks : and
 he shall sweep onward into Judah ; he shall overflow and
 pass through ; he shall reach even to the neck ; and
 the stretching out of his wings shall fill the breadth of
 thy land, O Immanuel.

for in vii. 2 we were told precisely the reverse. Accordingly we shall do well to adopt the emendation first suggested by Hitzig, and render 'and are faint-hearted at Rezin.' The actual change required by the emendation is comparatively slight.

Verses 7-8. A sudden transition from the gently flowing Shiloah-waters of God's own city Jerusalem to the roaring tumultuous flood of the Euphrates. Since the former was rejected by the Jewish people, the latter shall overwhelm them with God's judgment on the nation for their distrust of Him and His message.

8. Not only will the northern kingdom (Ephraim) be overwhelmed by the calamity, but also the southern kingdom (Judah) will one day share in the visitation. These prophecies of coming ill were severally fulfilled, for Ephraim in 734 and finally in 722 B. C. ; for Judah in 701 (invasion of Sennacherib). See Introduction. This verse may be idiomatically rendered : 'and it shall pass over into Judah streaming and overflowing, reaching as far as the neck¹'.

At the close of the verse the metaphor suddenly changes from that of a river to that of a bird of prey with outstretched wings : 'and the spreading forth of its wings fill the breadth of thy land, Immanuel.' Here it is obvious that Immanuel is addressed as the living embodiment of Judah's trust in the Divine Presence in the midst of danger and uncertainty. There is no need to follow Cheyne and Marti in disconnecting this latter part of the verse from the preceding, and attaching it to verses 9, 10 as an added fragment or appendix. Rapid change of metaphor is characteristic of Isaiah's style ; cf. v. 30. To refer the outspread wings to Yahweh (Cheyne) is very arbitrary. The prophet is thinking of an Assyrian army under this metaphor.

¹ On the loosely appended perfect and imperfect tenses in the Hebrew used in vivid descriptions, see Ewald, *Ausführliches Lehrbuch*, § 346^b.

Make an uproar, O ye peoples, and ye shall be broken 9
in pieces ; and give ear, all ye of far countries : gird your-
selves, and ye shall be broken in pieces ; gird yourselves,
and ye shall be broken in pieces. Take counsel together, 10
and it shall be brought to nought ; speak the word, and it
shall not stand : for God is with us. For the LORD spake 11

9, 10 follow in close connexion with the preceding. The peoples here addressed are the foreign peoples, including, however, Ephraim also. Whatever plans and plots they may devise against Judah will fail. Even the stream of invasion, to which verse 8 graphically referred, though reaching to the neck, does not drown. The prophet recites once more the name Immanuel like a talismanic charm :—

‘Rage¹, ye peoples, and be dumbfounded ;
And hearken, all distant parts of the earth :
Gird yourselves, and be dumbfounded ;
Gird yourselves, and be dumbfounded.
Plan a plan that it may be destroyed ;
Declare your purpose that it may not stand :
For with-us-God.’

Here we see the central idea of Isaianic prophecy. God would not suffer Judah to be utterly overwhelmed. After the final judgment and visitation of Divine chastisement was over, Jerusalem would be saved through the presence of a righteous or converted remnant (*Sheār-yāshūbh*). It was this message that saved king and people from despair and ruin in the desperate extremity of 701 B.C., when Sennacherib's armies menaced the city. We have no reason, however, to attribute the words above cited to that later period. They are to be connected with the events of 735-4 B.C. Here again the words of the prophet may have suggested those of the Psalm-writer in Ps. ii. 1 foll. :—

‘Why have nations raged,
And peoples meditate vanity . . .’

The sublime words of Isaiah—the messenger of faith and hope—struck a new note in prophecy destined to reverberate through all

¹ The LXX renders ‘know’ on the basis of a slightly different but mistaken text (due to the confusion of the character *Resh* (r) with *Daleth* (d) which constantly meets us in the O.T., and occasions *Aram* to be written in place of *Edom*).

thus to me with a strong hand, and instructed me that I
 12 should not walk in the way of this people, saying, Say ye
 not, A conspiracy, concerning all whereof this people shall
 say, A conspiracy; neither fear ye their fear, nor be in
 13 dread thereof. The LORD of hosts, him shall ye sanctify;

future time. Like Becket in Tennyson's drama, we can say, if
 we have reached faith's stronghold—

'Fear not I should stumble in the darkness,
 Not tho' it be their hour, the power of darkness,
 But my hour too, the power of light in darkness,
 I am not in the darkness, but the light.'

Verses 11-15 recount a special vision vouchsafed to the prophet, to which he refers in the unusual phrase 'as the hand held me fast, admonishing me not to walk in the way of this people.' The hand was Yahweh's hand, signifying His supernatural power. Similarly the prophets say 'The hand of the Lord was upon me' (Ezek. i. 3, iii. 14, &c.), when describing the state of ecstasy through which the supernatural message was conveyed. The normal expression is 'The word of the Lord was unto . . .'

12-13. Call not everything conspiracy that this people calls
 conspiracy,
 And the object of their fear, fear not nor dread.
 Yahweh (God) of Hosts, regard Him as holy.
 He is your object of fear, He your dread.

(Read, with Duhm, *ma'arâš*).

The Hebrew text here is not as certain as could be wished. The LXX render the word in question not by *conspiracy*, but by 'hard,' evidently reading *Kâshéh* 'hard' in their Hebrew copy, whereas in our text we have *Kesher*, 'conspiracy.' As the Hebrew text seems to be unsound, it has been proposed by Secker to read in place of the word for 'conspiracy' in the Hebrew text the word for 'holy,' at one time (1884) with Cheyne's approval. The reference to God as a 'sanctuary' in verse 14 gives some support to this suggestion. At the same time it somewhat disturbs the course of the thought, and the reading of our Hebrew text 'conspiracy' is well suited to the conditions of the year 735-4, when the people spoke in tones of alarm (vii. 2) of the confederation of the two northern kings. On the other hand Duhm, who holds to this reading of our Hebrew text in verse 12, carries out the idea consistently and boldly by amending verse 13. Instead of the Hebrew word *takdîshû*, 'regard as holy,' he would read *takshîrû*, 'regard as conspirator.'

and let him be your fear, and let him be your dread. And 14 he shall be for a sanctuary ; but for a stone of stumbling and for a rock of offence to both the houses of Israel, for a gin and for a snare to the inhabitants of Jerusalem. And many shall stumble thereon, and fall, and be broken, 15 and be snared, and be taken.

He believes that Isaiah coined a new word. ‘One may credit a new and special revelation with an original phrase, a new, drastic, pregnant word. Yahweh is the conspirator who will be to the two houses of Israel a stone of stumbling and a snare. Not Ahaz, Rezin, Pekah, Tiglath-Pileser guide the course of history : they are all only instruments in the hands of Yahweh.’ This is certainly a bold yet attractive conception of Yahweh as the august ally or confederate whose schemes are alone worthy of consideration or dread. If Judah is under His protection, why dread any confederacy of neighbouring kings ? Yahweh alone is worthy of fear.

14. ‘And he shall serve as a sanctuary . . .

Yet shall he become a stone for collision . . .

And a rock for stumbling for the two houses of Israel,

And a trap and snare for the inhabitant of Jerusalem.’

Duhm, as might be expected, rids himself of the first clause, ‘he shall become a sanctuary,’ since it disturbs his conception of the sense. He regards the word *mikdāsh*, *sanctuary*, as arising through a corrupted dittography of the word *mōkesh*, *snare*, which occurs later in the verse. But critical licence here overruns due bounds. The word *mikdāsh* means a *protecting sanctuary*, an *asylum* : Ezek. xi. 16; cf. Exod. xxi. 14; 1 Kings i. 50; and the conception is appropriate in this special connexion, and follows quite naturally upon the last clause of verse 13. It is probable, however, that a few words have fallen out, as it seems to be the beginning of an incomplete line.

15. A. V. renders the Heb. *bām* ‘among them,’ and this is also the rendering of Luther, Ewald, Delitzsch, Duhm, and Marti ; the pronoun will refer to the two houses of Israel. This interpretation is supported by LXX. But R. V. renders by *thereon*, i.e. upon them, viz. upon the stone and snares referred-to in the preceding verse. This translation, or ‘through them,’ ‘by their means,’ is advocated by Dillmann and Kittel. The position of the word in the Hebrew text favours this latter interpretation. It seems to be connected more naturally with the verb which precedes than with the word for ‘many’ which follows. Lastly, the accentuation of the Hebrew text clearly favours the latter view.

16 Bind thou up the testimony, seal the law among my
 17 disciples. And I will wait for the LORD, that hideth his
 face from the house of Jacob, and I will look for him.
 18 Behold, I and the children whom the LORD hath given
 me are for signs and for wonders in Israel from the LORD
 of hosts, which dwelleth in mount Zion.

19 And when they shall say unto you, Seek unto them

Verses 16-18. The immediate future is dark, and there is no ray of hope. The king and his court, followed by a subservient people, heed not the words of the prophet or his signs. Aḥaz had already refused to 'put Yahweh to the proof' (vii. 12), and had definitely resolved upon his course of action, reliance upon the strong arm of Assyria. The people had no leaders (cf. iii. 1-5), and resorted to the grossest superstitions. Isaiah was regarded at this time as a mere visionary. Probably his public utterances ceased for a while.

16. The imperative may be regarded as an injunction by the prophet addressed to one of his disciples. The word **Bind** implies the tying up of the parchment or papyrus roll (Heb. *megillah*) in which the oracles were written, and which was likewise to be kept sealed up and preserved among the prophet's disciples. The word rendered **law** here, as in previous cases (i. 10, v. 24), means the instruction of the prophet. On parchment rolls cf. *Hebrew Antiquities* (Rel. Tract Soc. Primer), p. 129.

17. **I will look for him:** i. e. with expectant hope, though king and people are unbelieving.

18. Isaiah's own name may, perhaps, have not been the original name he bore, but have been assumed by himself or conferred by God after the consecration-vision. It means 'help (or deliverance) of Yahweh,' and, like Sheār-yāshūbh and Maḥer-shālāl-hāš-baz, was prophetic. They were signs and wonders (portents) manifesting God's purpose. This combination 'signs and wonders' frequently meets us in Deuteronomy (iv. 34, vii. 19, xxvi. 8, xxix. 2, xxxiv. 11), represented by *σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα* in LXX.

'Yahweh who dwells in Zion,' the God not only of judgments and visitations, but also of righteous rule and moral restoration, cf. ii. 2-4, iv. 2-4, xi. 9. With this last watchword of hope and final victory the prophet closes his word of prophecy for a certain interval. Already more than a century before the Reformation of Josiah (associated with the Book of Deuteronomy) the prophet regards Zion as God's true place of abode and manifestation of His power.

Verses 19-22 are a fragment from some later discourse, the date of

that have familiar spirits and unto the wizards, that chirp and that mutter: should not a people seek unto their God? on behalf of the living *should they seek* unto the

which it would be impossible to define. It might belong to a later period in the reign of Ahaz, after the capture of Samaria (721), when Judah would feel the stress of great apprehension. Or it might be placed later still, in the early years of Hezekiah's reign. In those days necromancy became the resource of a large number of distressed and dejected men and women, who resorted to these abnormal modes of probing into the future and the unknown. See *Necromancy* at the end of article 'Sorcery' in Hastings' *DB*. The reign of Ahaz was prolific in the tendency to magic rites, borrowed either from North Arabia or Babylonia (cf. chap. ii. 6), and the king's own proneness to adopt foreign modes of cultus would stimulate the tendency (2 Kings xvi. 10). While there is no evidence that the prophet denounced the ordinary calling of the soothsayer, whom he apparently regarded as one of the props of the social fabric (iii. 2, 3), and whose functions in the early days of the Hebrew monarchy were combined with that of the priest (1 Sam. *passim*), the practice of the necromancer came under a different category. The stern penalties of death were denounced against him and the sorcerer: Deut. xviii. 11 (cf. 1 Sam. xxviii. 9); Lev. xix. 31, xx. 6, 7.

19. Render: 'And when they say to you "Inquire of the spirits of the dead (*abōth*) and the necromancers who chirp and whisper; should not a people inquire of their *manes*, of the dead on behalf of the living?"' The word here rendered *manes* is the ordinary word for God (the plural form *Elōhim*). In only one other O. T. passage it has this meaning of *manes* or spirits of the departed, viz. 1 Sam. xxviii. 13. But that is no evidence that this use of *Elōhim* was not frequent and current. Later redactors of the Hebrew literature would, as far as possible, suppress such an employment of a word which was specially used to designate Yahweh, the God of the Hebrews. The peculiar meaning which here belongs to the word is to be connected with its not infrequent application to designate heathen deities; it is then construed with a plural adjective or verb: Exod. xii. 12, xxxiv. 15; Judges ix. 9, 13, &c. The worship of the *manes* of ancestors is reflected in the name *Rephaim*, and in the images called *Terāphim* preserved in the household (see articles under those names in Hastings' *DB*). The step from the use of Teraphim in divination to necromancy would not be a great one. There was evidently a growth in the prophetic reprobation of such practices. There is no proof that Isaiah or Hosea (cf. Hos. iii. 4) absolutely denounced Teraphim and soothsaying. Isa. iii. 3 would imply

20 dead? To the law and to the testimony! if they speak not according to this word, surely there is no morning for them. And they shall pass through it, hardly bestead and hungry: and it shall come to pass that, when they shall be hungry, they shall fret themselves, and curse by their king and by their God, and turn their faces upward: 22 and they shall look unto the earth, and behold, distress and darkness, the gloom of anguish; and into thick darkness

that they were tolerated (cf. the invocation of saints or the worship of the Madonna at the present day among Roman Catholics). Yet in Jer. xxvii. 9; Ezek. xxi. 21; Isa. xlvi. 8-15, lvii. 3 we see the reflection of the growing puritanic spirit embodied in Deut. xviii. 9-13¹. There is, however, a difference in Isaiah's attitude towards the practice of necromancy as compared with soothsaying. The latter Isaiah appears to have tolerated in his day, but necromancy he utterly repudiates and denounces.

20. With thunder-tones the prophet answers the shallow plea: 'To the instruction and the testimony!' In place of the dark whispering ritual of the necromancer, to which the unbelieving court and people resorted in their despair, let them seek their own God and the revelations of His will through the prophets. Then, in reference to their pitiful argument, he adds: 'Surely they speak after this fashion for whom there is no dawn.' Endless, hopeless night has settled on their soul. They look not to God, but to the dark sepulchres of the dead. It is necessary to substitute this rendering for that of the A. V. and R. V.

21. There is obviously a gap here in the text. It in the first clause probably refers to the land in which the people dwell. The prophet is describing the despairing plight of those who traverse the land, desolated apparently by the invader, with no trust in Israel's God.

21-22. And he passes through it hard pressed and famishing:
And when he is famished he frets himself,
And curses his king and his God,
And turns his face upward: and looks to the earth,
And behold, anguish and darkness, oppressive gloom;
And into darkness is he driven. . . .

As the wayfarer becomes more deeply involved in his distress and want, he vents himself in curses against his nation's King and

¹ So also Muhammad in Korân (Sur. v. 92) regards the divining-rods (*al-aslâm*) as an abominable work of Satan.

they shall be driven away. But there shall be no gloom to her that was in anguish. In the former time he brought into contempt the land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali, but in the latter time hath he made it glorious, by the way of the sea, beyond Jordan, Galilee of the God. Both are here associated. Even Ahaz, who belonged to the stock of David, was God's anointed (or Messiah, Heb. *Mashiah*). The Hebrew of the last two lines above translated is obscure and difficult, containing isolated expressions.

CHAPTER IX.

ix. 1-7. The opening verse of this chapter in our English Bible (as in the LXX) belongs to the close of chap. viii in the Hebrew text; but the position which is here given to it is to be preferred. We are now entering upon an entirely fresh oracle, probably composed by the prophet at a considerable interval—perhaps after the lapse of over thirty years since the sad forebodings which conclude chap. viii. At the same time, this opening verse was evidently intended not only to be introductory to what follows, but also to serve as a link to what precedes. It is retrospective as well as prospective, and indicates a contrast. This is clearly apparent from its use of the same (or similar) expressions as those which occurred in viii. 22. The mind of the writer evidently recurs to the phraseology of the preceding verse. It is doubtful whether Isaiah wrote it in the form in which the verse stands.

1. The opening Hebrew particle should be rendered **But** (R. V.) or 'Nevertheless' (A. V.), and not 'For,' as recent commentators hold. Again the phraseology is obscure and difficult. Probably the best rendering would be: 'Yet there is no gloom to the land that felt oppression. In the former time He did despite towards the land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali, but in the latter He hath done honour, on the way to (or by) the sea, beyond the Jordan to the circuit of peoples.' In the first clause the preposition 'to' is attached to a feminine suffix, according to the punctuation of the Hebrew text, which seems to refer (like the phrase 'through it' in verse 21 above) to the land. It is possible, however, that we should punctuate the word as masculine: 'no gloom to him that felt oppression.' This would save us from the awkwardness of supplying a word which occurs subsequently in the verse, but a glance at the LXX rendering *τοῦτο πρῶτον π[ερ]ι[τέ]ραν τοῖς . . .*, and the words that precede and follow in that version, clearly reveals that the Hebrew text at the close of viii. 22 and the whole of ix. 1 (viii. 23 in Heb.), except the last few words, is in a most confused state and very difficult to restore. The general sense of the

2 nations. The people that walked in darkness have seen
a great light: they that dwelt in the land of the shadow
3 of death, upon them hath the light shined. Thou hast

passage as it stands in the Hebrew text is fairly clear. In the former troubled days, preceding the downfall of Samaria, Tiglath-Pileser III had deprived the kingdom of Ephraim of its northern provinces (see Introduction), Zebulun and Naphtali. The ruin which Tiglath-Pileser had begun Sargon completed in 722. The subject of the verb in the expression 'He did despite' (or wrought humiliation) is, of course, Yahweh Himself, who made the kings of Assyria the instruments of His will. 'The circuit of peoples' is also referred to in 2 Kings xv. 29, where the loss of the provinces by the northern kingdom of Israel is specified. The Hebrew word for 'circuit' is the origin of the name **Galilee**. In the Greek of 1 Macc. v. 15 the same phrase that we have in this verse is reproduced; cf. Matt. iv. 12-16 where this passage is quoted. The 'peoples' here referred-to mean the foreign populations of mixed character, Canaanite, Aramean, and perhaps Hittite, who inhabited those northern districts. Solomon gave the Phoenician Hiram twenty towns in this region (1 Kings ix. 11). Moreover, the Assyrians probably planted eastern populations there after its conquest (cf. 2 Kings xvii. 24). The 'way to (or by) the sea' may refer, as Dillmann thinks, to the Sea of Galilee on its western side (so Rashi), or (with Guthe and Marti) to the caravan-track from Damascus to the Mediterranean, which crossed the Jordan north of the Sea of Galilee by the so-called 'bridge of the daughters of Jacob'; see Bädeker's map of Galilee in his *Palestine and Syria*.

2-7. But now follows a great change. Light in place of darkness, and the rule of an ideal Messianic King, either already or soon to be born, who shall establish a reign of justice and equity after the yoke of Israel's oppressor has been broken.

2. 'Walking' and 'dwelling' are synonymous terms for 'living.' The 'land of death-shades' may be a recurrence to the thought of the previous chapter—the dark world of necromancy and despair. The spirits of the dead, like the *jinn* of the Arabian desert, haunted lonely dark defiles (such as the valley of Rephaim southwest of Jerusalem). These phantoms of dark despair would vanish in the dawn of the new day. The LXX seem to have had a slightly different text, in which the people are apostrophized: 'O people that walk in darkness, behold a great light; and ye who dwell in the land of death-shade, a light shineth on you.' Only a single character in the Hebrew text requires change in order to support this rendering, which is perhaps the right one.

3. Following the emendation of Krochmal, we obtain a rhythmic

multiplied the nation, thou hast increased their joy : they joy before thee according to the joy in harvest, as men rejoice when they divide the spoil. For the yoke of his burden, and the staff of his shoulder, the rod of his oppressor, thou hast broken as in the day of Midian.

and complete parallelism, a brilliant conjecture which with almost absolute certainty restores to us the original text :—

Thou hast magnified the exultation,
Thou hast increased the joy.

Of course, it is Yahweh who is here addressed. The joy of harvest-time became proverbial ; so also the reference to dividing the spoil : for the former cf. Hos. ix. 1; Ps. iv. 7, cxxvi. 6 ; and for the latter Ps. cxix. 162. The prophet is thinking either of the harvest festival in May (Feast of Weeks), or of *Booths* in the autumn. The language points more decisively to the former ; but the latter was the more characteristic festival of pre-exilian Israel.

4. **the yoke of his burden** is a characteristic Hebraism for the yoke which rests as a burden on the back of the people referred to in verse 2. Similarly **the staff of his shoulder** means the staff which strikes his shoulder. The rod was in reality a very formidable weapon, viz. a club or mace, about two feet long, which often had a large number of heavy iron nails driven into its round head ('Neil,' *Palestine Explored*, p. 262). The word is translated 'sceptre,' Num. xxiv. 17; Gen. xlvi. 10; Isa. xiv. 5; Ezek. xix. 11, 14, &c. A representation is given of this club, called in Heb. *shebhet*, in Hastings' *DB.*, art. *Rod* (cf. footnote to x. 5). **Day of Midian**, like 'slaughter of Midian' (x. 26), became proverbial of a great overthrow in battle. Isaiah may have relied upon the traditions respecting the event, incorporated in Judges vi-viii. It is possible that the signal chastisement inflicted by Israel, described in Num. xxxi, was in the mind of the prophet as well as the narratives contained in Judges associated with the name of Gideon. The locality of the tribe of Midian was a shifting one, as befitted a race of nomads, but the O.T. notices (see Nöldeke's article 'Midian' in *Enc. Bibl.*) point to the conclusion that their original settlements were somewhere north-east of the Sinaitic Desert between Edom and Paran (Gen. xxxvii. 28, 36; Exed. iii. 1; 1 Kings xi. 18; Hab. iii. 7)¹.

¹ Winckler thinks Midian is frequently written in old passages where originally there stood Ma'in (*Ma'än*); cf. LXX on Judges x. 12 and *KAT.*³, p. 143. This Midian belongs therefore to the North Arabian (*mât*) Muṣri, and is identified with Muṣrân; see Hommel, *Aufsätze u. Abhandl.*, ii. p. 231.

5 For all the armour of the armed man in the tumult, and the garments rolled in blood, shall even be for burning,
6 for fuel of fire. For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given ; and the government shall be upon his shoulder : and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor;

5. The marg. of the R.V. is nearer to the correct rendering. *armour* is now known to be a wrong rendering (based on LXX). The Assyrian word *šēnu* (see Delitzsch, *Handwörterbuch*) means a shoe or sandal. Perhaps the kind here meant was the 'more serviceable and not uncommon variety seen to advantage in the footgear of Ashurbanipal's warriors. Over a kind of tight-fitting bandage enveloping the leg is a boot reaching midway up the back of the calf' (*Enc. Bibl.*, 'Shoes'). Translate :—

'For every boot of him that goes booted in the din, and cloak
rolled in blood,
Shall be for burning, fuel of fire.'

The word rendered 'din' is very expressive, and is employed to express the rattling of war-chariots : Nah. iii. 2; Jer. xlvi. 3. The cloak or mantle here is the military mantle of thick texture worn by the Assyrian soldiery (see article 'Siege' in *Enc. Bibl.* and bas-relief on black obelisk of Shalmaneser in the Nimrûd gallery of the British Museum).

This verse, like the previous, beginning with **For**, gives the reason for the great rejoicing. Assyria, the destructive, warlike nation, is overthrown like Midian by Israel, and with it all the materials and elements of war.

6. Who brings about this great overthrow ? Another verse beginning with **For** announces the advent of a great hero-prince :—

'For a child is born to us, a son is given to us ;
And royal authority comes upon his shoulder :
And his name is called Wondrous Counsellor,
Hero-God, Father for ever, Prince of Peace.'

The perfect tense in the original, corresponding to *is born*, is given, is not unusual in Hebrew. This 'prophetic perfect' is employed to express the intense and vivid realization of the impending event. If this prophecy was composed by Isaiah it is not improbable that he thought of a young monarch to be born to Hezekiah who would complete the overthrow of Assyria. The withdrawal of the Assyrian army after the battle of Altakû (see Introduction) might well have awakened great hopes of the ultimate *downfall of the enemy* through the 'Divine Hero.' Of this *downfall* Isaiah had already given a clear intimation in the oracle x. 5-15.

Mighty God, Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace. Of 7
the increase of his government and of peace there shall

The 'royal authority' was borne upon the shoulder under the material symbol of a royal robe or mantle. In xxii. 22 we find that the symbol of office is the key of David's house, borne upon the shoulder, where, however, it is the subordinate office of palace overseer which is referred to.

The Hebrew *el gilbōr* gives the title of Divine warrior-hero to the ideal ruler, and evidently points to great military achievements whereby the power of the Assyrian foe has been utterly broken. But a glance at the LXX shows that they had quite a different text before them at the close of this verse, since their rendering is: 'I will bring peace to the rulers and health to himself¹'; but there is uncertainty as to the Greek text of the LXX itself. The expression in our Massoretic Hebrew text 'Father for ever' (**Everlasting Father**) is certainly enigmatic. (We may dismiss 'Father of booty,' on the basis of Gen. xlvi. 27, as a most improbable rendering.) The phrase seems to mean: Father who tends and cares for his people for ever; compare the expression 'mistress for ever' in Isa. xlvii. 7. But the text is far from certain.

7. We have some indication of textual confusion in the curious orthography of the Hebrew text that meets the eye at the opening of this verse, whether through dittography or some other cause. Render: 'Great is the rule, and of peace there is no end . . .'

It has been already stated that several recent critics (notably Hackmann, Cheyne, Marti, and Volz) have argued that these verses at the opening of chap. ix were not written by Isaiah. The chief arguments may be found summarized in Marti's commentary, and they are stated for the English reader with more critical caution in Cheyne's *Introduction*, pp. 44 foll.

(1) It is asserted that Isaiah's hopes were centred on Yahweh and on a religious community without political organization (viii. 16-18), never on the Davidic royal house and on political influence. On the other hand, the Messiah of Isa. ix. 1-7 is a completely political personality, and has no direct religious significance. Indeed, Marti regards it as thoroughly Jewish in sentiment; while Isaiah's standpoint was more akin to that of Jesus, whose kingdom was not of this world.

But these are very one-sided statements. That Isaiah had little hope of political organization during the reign of Ahaz is probably true, and viii. 16-18 reflects the prophet's sentiment at that

¹ Reading apparently in Hebrew, נְסִיר תֵּה אַתָּה כֹּרֶב מְשֻׁבָּח, in which we pass over from the end of verse 6 to the beginning of verse 7.

be no end, upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to establish it, and to uphold it with judgement

time. It is true that at a later period the prophet (like Hosea before him) deprecated foreign alliances, especially with Egypt, and the dependence upon horses and chariots which such alliances involved (cf. xxx. 1-7, 15, 16, xxxi. 1-3). Yet this does not exclude political organization within Judah itself, resting on the presence and power of Yahweh. The part played by Isaiah during the invasion of Sennacherib (701 B.C.), described in chaps. xxxvi.-xxxix., rests upon a sound historical basis, though the account is obviously late; but this part is hardly consistent with the attitude of a disbeliever in political organization.

(2) The phrase 'jealous zeal of Yahweh' (ix. 7) is said to be a later expression, and was first employed by Ezekiel (xxxvi. 5 foll., xxxviii. 19, xxxix. 25; Isa. xlvi. 13; Zech. i. 14, viii. 2). But though this is in the main true, the employment of the word a century earlier by Isaiah is surely quite admissible. Indeed, he may have given currency to a phrase which is eminently consistent with his conception of the 'Holy One of Israel' (xxx. 11, 15); cf. note on vi. 3. This latter title became current in Deutero-Isaiah.

(3) 'Neither Jeremiah nor Ezekiel nor Deutero-Isaiah know anything of this prophecy.' This is the familiar *argumentum ex silentio*, which is extremely hazardous when applied to O. T. literature. But is it quite certain that the first two prophets knew nothing of it? Jer. xxx. 9, in its reference to 'David their king' (a passage that Cornill in his critical edition allows to have been written by Jeremiah), appears to be using language expressive of ideas familiar to Jeremiah's countrymen, and the same remark applies to Ezek. xxxiv. 23-25. Ezekiel was notoriously a literary prophet. His borrowings from Jeremiah are obvious, and the closing verse of the passage above cited is surely an echo of Isa. ix. 7 and xi. 6-9. With reference to the Deutero-Isaiah, no argument can well be based upon literature that belongs to a different stadium of Israel's history, when the ideals of the old national life had passed away and the new conception of Jehovah's suffering and righteous servant took their place.

(4) In answer to the question, When did this prophecy arise? Marti acknowledges that it is difficult to give a definite reply. In his *Gesch. der Israel. Religion*, p. 255, he hazards the opinion that it was composed in the same years that witnessed the introduction of the Mosaic law by Ezra. In his commentary he says: 'The century 540-440 B.C. seems in reality to correspond best to the utterances of Isa. ix. 1-6. Their contents lead us into the circle of ideas in Haggai and Zechariah. In both we find the hope of a *Messiah of Davidic lineage*, who is seen in the person of the

and with righteousness from henceforth even for ever.
The zeal of the LORD of hosts shall perform this.

Davidic Zerubbabel : Hag. ii. 21-23 ; Zech. iv. 6, vi. 12. Zechariah follows Jér. xxiii. 5, xxxiii. 15 in calling him "Sprout" (cf. Isa. xi. 1).

But a careful examination of these parallels clearly shows that they contain no real analogy. If we were concerned with Hag. ii. 21-23 only, and without reference to the historic situation, a specious argument might be advanced, but the Zechariah passages dispel the illusion. Just as the secular prince in Ezekiel's ideal scheme (chaps. xl-xlviii) falls into the background and his functions are restricted and subordinated to the ecclesiastical routine (xlvi. 10-18), so the figure of Zerubbabel in Zechariah (chaps. iv and vi) is portrayed with the rising temple-walls in the background. The nation which he leads is a church-nation, and there is another figure destined speedily to overshadow his own, that of Joshua the High Priest (chap. iii). It is only in Hag. ii. 22 that we see a pale reflection of the rapidly vanishing portraiture of the national warrior-hero of the seed of David in Isa. ix. 1-7 and xi. 1-9. But these are not the only passages with which Cheyne and Marti are concerned. Both these critics assign Isa. lx-lxii, with the rest of the 'Trito-Isaiah' (chaps. lvi-lxvi), to the century 540-440 B. C. If so, these great lyrical compositions must be included in our survey. But *no Messianic personality* appears in them. Even the 'sure mercies of David' (lv. 3) are for the time forgotten. It is quite true that we have the prophet herald (lxii. 1, 10, lxii. 1, 6) and also the priests (lxii. 6). Also we have the sanctuary of Zion and its altar (lx. 7, 13, lxi. 6, lxii. 9); and the whole scene is flooded with the Divine presence and glory. Moreover, we have dim perspectives of the nations and their products flocking in (a reflection of Isa. ii. 2, 3); but there is no earthly throne or warrior-prince. A survey of the literary products and historic environment of the first post-exilian century leads us irresistibly to the conclusion that the clear and fresh portraiture of Isa. ix. 1-7 and xi. 1-9 could not have emerged from that age, but from the age of Hezekiah when a momentary check to the career of Sennacherib raised the hopes which find expression in x. 5 foll., xxxi. 5, 8.

Cheyne himself (*Introduction*, p. 44 foll.) observes that 'a number of late writers regarded ix. 1-7 as Isaiah's.' He cites x. 26 and xiv. 5 where the parallels are somewhat slight, and xxxvii. 32 where it is very apparent. Nor is he deeply impressed by the linguistic argument. The unusual word for military shoe or boot (which ought probably to be pronounced *sēn*) is not a late Aramaic word, but a loan-word imported in the lifetime of Isaiah from Assyria.

8 The Lord sent a word into Jacob, and it hath lighted

Lastly, some such ideal portraiture was needed to give completeness to the Immanuel prophecy. Apart from it the utterance in chaps. vii, viii becomes a *vox et praetera nil*. Well might the disciples of the prophet press for some further disclosure as to the import of the 'sign' as the century drew near to its close, and the evening of his own life approached. Certainly something more complete was needed, and a prophet, endowed with such an artistic sense as Isaiah clearly reveals, would not rest satisfied with a vague torso. That the completed conception of his later days exhibits a certain progress of ideas and a more secular consciousness is in no way surprising. Riper experience gave the prophet a stronger grip of the realities of life, as well as a clearer conception of what his earlier spiritual ideals meant when translated into action. For Isaiah was a prophet of action as well as of ideals, and the close of the century in the reign of Hezekiah, when the forces of Sennacherib had withdrawn, was not like the decennium 735-725 in the reign of Ahaz (with which chaps. vi-viii are concerned), an age of impenetrable gloom¹.

See Introduction.

With this beautiful utterance belonging to the old age of the prophet, the original 'Book of Immanuel' (vi-ix. 7), as we have ventured to call it, beginning with gloom and ending with sunshine, comes to a close.

We now come to another series of oracles which similarly close with another Isaianic poem of hope, xi. 1-9.

CHAPTER IX. 8 (7 Heb.)—X. 4.

We now pass to a beautiful poem of four strophes, with a refrain at the end of each strophe. The poem is a fragment, the close of which has been fortunately preserved. We have already studied the concluding portion in v. 25-30, and have previously had occasion to show (see Introduction, p. 14, ff.) that the allusions and descriptive elements of this poem are best explained by assuming for it the date 726 B. C. The close, which vividly portrays the impending advance of an Assyrian army (v. 27-30), was based on the experience of the Assyrian foe already acquired by the inhabitants of Palestine in the events of the year 734-3, when the northern kingdom was bereft of its northern

¹ On this controversy the reader is referred to the admirably clear and judicious survey of the question in Prof. G. Adam Smith's article 'Isaiah' in Hastings' *DB.*, p. 487 foll.; and to the present writer's article on Cheyne's *Introduction to Isaiah* in the *Critical Review*, July 1895, p. 230 foll.

upon Israel. And all the people shall know, *even* Ephraim 9 and the inhabitant of Samaria, that say in pride and in stoutness of heart, The bricks are fallen, but we will build 10 with hewn stone: the sycomores are cut down, but we will change them into cedars. Therefore the LORD shall 11

and transjordanic provinces. Ephraim, with its capital Samaria, was still left, and it is to be noticed that these are specially referred to in verse 9 (8 Heb.). The events of the invasion of 734-3 were already about eight years old, Tiglath-Pileser was dead (727 B.C.), and relief from the heavy hand of Assyrian rule was anticipated by the vassal-state Ephraim. The little kingdom began to breathe again. It was beginning to recover in a material sense, and, in their optimistic pride, many of the inhabitants were saying as they looked back on the disasters of 734-3, 'Bricks have fallen, but with hewn stone will we build...', verse 10 (9 Heb.). We may therefore assume that this poem, directed against the blind optimism and arrogance of the northern kingdom, was composed about 726 B.C.

First Strophe (8-12). Ephraim's arrogance. Foes shall spring up all around him.

'A word hath the Lord sent against Jacob,
And it shall fall on Israel.'

The 'word' is here almost materialized, as though it were a bolt descending from the sky; and such in fact was the semi-magical conception of names, words, and curses in primitive Israel; see Gray's instructive remarks in *Numbers* (on xxii. 6) on the power of the blessing or the curse, p. 327 foll. (cf. pp. 54, 74). The LXX punctuated differently, and rendered 'plague' (death) instead of 'word.' On the refrain cf. Korân Sur. 77; Amos i, ii, iv. 6 foll. &c.

9. shall know: i. e. shall perceive the word that God has sent, and become aware of its effect.

10. The words of this verse are held by Duhm to be those of a popular ditty. They evidently bear reference to the events of the recent past. The dwellings of sun-dried bricks shall be replaced by stately houses of hewn stone. The common sycomore woodwork shall be exchanged for cedar. The Israelite peasant-cultivator of the soil probably lived, like the fellahin of Palestine at the present day, in primitive structures of mud or sunburnt brick, while the wood employed was the sycomore, the commonest and cheapest timber in Canaan (1 Kings x. 27). The ambitious Ephraimite boasts that better buildings shall arise than those destroyed by the Assyrians.

set up on high against him the adversaries of Rezin, and
 shall stir up his enemies ; the Syrians before, and the
 Philistines behind ; and they shall devour Israel with
 open mouth. For all this his anger is not turned away,
 but his hand is stretched out still.

11-12. The LXX point out approximately the original text :

'And Yahweh will raise up the enemies of Mount Zion against
 him (i. e. Ephraim),
 And his foes will He goad on ;
 Syria before, and the Philistines behind ;
 And they devour Israel with full mouth.'

It is quite evident that the Hebrew Massoretic text, upon which A. V. and R. V. are based, has become corrupted and so unintelligible. Rezin ruled over Syria, and therefore the enumeration of Syria as one of his enemies can have no meaning. The Philistines, moreover, were rather his allies in the war against Ahaz; if we can trust the secondary historic tradition of a Chron. xxviii. 18¹ (a late and post-exilian document), which we have good reason to regard as valid in this case, for the Philistine towns were opposed in later days to Sargon and Sennacherib, and would therefore probably join Rezin's anti-Assyrian coalition (see Introduction). These considerations clearly show that the reading 'enemies of Mount Zion' is correct. Those who were formerly, in the Syro-Ephraimite war of 735, enemies of Zion, are now to be made by Yahweh enemies of Ephraim itself instead of allies. Probably they would be sufficiently cowed by the disastrous events of 734-2 to unite with Assyria against their old ally. How far this actually took place in the events of 724-1 we cannot in the absence of historic data determine.

In spite of all these blows of Divine disciplinary chastisement God's wrath against Ephraim does not cease. His hand of power is still stretched out to smite. The expression 'turned' away' is not an exact reproduction of the original. It should be 'has not turned back,' or 'returned,' i. e. abated. Similarly in Gen. xxvii. 44 foll., 'till his (i. e. Esau's) wrath has abated,' *lit.* 'returned' (viz. back to Esau himself, the personal source from which it proceeded). All this language is based on primitive materialistic and often magical ideas respecting the power which goes forth from a man in the words he utters. Thus in Isa. iv. 11, the word goes forth from God like rain or snow, and does not return to Him

¹ Verse 17 raises the question whether instead of Aram (*Syria*) in our *Isaianic* text there ought here, as in other cases, to be read *Edom*.

Yet the people hath not turned unto him that smote them, neither have they sought the LORD of hosts. Therefore the LORD will cut off from Israel head and tail, palm-branch and rush, in one day. [R] The ancient and the honourable man, he is the head; and the prophet that teacheth lies, he is the tail. [I] For they that lead this people cause them to err; and they that are led of them are destroyed. Therefore the Lord shall not rejoice over their young men, neither shall he have compassion on their fatherless and widows: for every one is profane and an

and cease to operate. Note the language with which this oracle opens, verse 8 (7 Heb.).

Second Strophe (13-17). Fatal delusions prevalent among all ranks of society.

13. The perfect tenses of the original are prophetic. They point to the future.

'Yet the people returneth not (or will not return) to Him that smiteth,' i. e. will not be converted from evil ways through the discipline of chastisement.

14. **head and tail, palm-branch and rush** may have been a current mode of metaphorical speech to describe all classes of society, high and low alike; cf. iii, 1 foll.

15 is evidently an explanatory gloss, written by some scribe or editor, and embodied in the text.

16. The leaders of the people prove themselves to be false guides. The language lacks definiteness. When we turn to the contemporary prophet of the northern kingdom, Hosea (xii, 1 (2 Heb.), cf. viii, 9), we might infer that the prophet Isaiah is here referring to the vain policy of the party which sought to lean on Assyria for aid, or to that of the opposing party which proposed to conclude an alliance with Egypt. To both policies Isaiah, like Hosea, was sternly opposed. This verse also is doubted by some critics (Duhm, Marti), but the grounds are not equally cogent.

17. **shall not rejoice over**, or 'not delight in,' is considered to be a weak phrase by most recent critics, e. g. Cheyne, Kittel, Duhm, and Marti; consequently they would follow Lagarde in substituting in the original another verb, 'shall not spare,' which gives a powerful and vivid sense. But the LXX support the present reading of our Hebrew text, for which many parallels may be found in the O. T. (e. g. Ps. cxxii, 1; 2 Sam. xv, 26. &c.). There is no need for change.

evil-doer, and every mouth speaketh folly. For all this his anger is not turned away, but his hand is stretched out still.

- 18 For wickedness burneth as the fire ; it devoureth the briers and thorns : yea, it kindleth in the thickets of the forest, and they roll upward in thick clouds of smoke.
- 19 Through the wrath of the LORD of hosts is the land burnt up: the people also are as the fuel of fire ; no man spareth
- 20 his brother. And one shall snatch on the right hand, and be hungry ; and he shall eat on the left hand, and they shall not be satisfied : they shall eat every man the flesh
- 21 of his own arm : Manasseh, Ephraim ; and Ephraim, Manasseh : and they together shall be against Judah.

Third Strophe (18-21). A lurid image of a forest-fire. The thickets are in flames, and dense volumes of smoke are rolling upwards. The internal condition of Israel is a state of blazing anarchy. The fury of faction leaves no room for pity between man and man, and engenders insatiable greed. As a finishing touch to the picture, we find the northern kingdom not only at war with itself, but also at enmity with its southern neighbours.

18. *in thick clouds*: or better, 'a tall column of smoke.'

19. R. V. *burnt up* follows the LXX. A. V. renders by 'darkened,' while Targ. and Jerome by 'distracted.' The original Hebrew word is found here only, and is quite obscure as to meaning.

20. The social disorders are now depicted. Here the parallels from the contemporary prophet of the northern kingdom will be found useful. Hosea describes the murders committed by bands of priests on the way to Shechem, the pilgrims to that shrine being probably the victims (iv. 2, vi. 8, 9; cf. xii. 7, 8).

For *snatch* read 'hew.' At the close of the verse we ought probably to follow the hint of LXX(A), and read by omitting a single character of the original Hebrew text: 'They shall eat every man the flesh of his neighbour.' This restores the harmony and parallelism of the verse (cf. verse 21), and removes the awkward expression 'flesh of his arm,' in which arm can only be metaphorically taken to mean 'friend' or 'helper.'

21. It is not easy to indicate what inter-tribal feuds between Manasseh and Ephraim are here meant. The story of Gen. xlvi. 14 foll. seems to point to some rivalry between the two tribes (cf. Gen. xxvii). *Judges* viii. 1 foll., in which the indignation of

For all this his anger is not turned away, but his hand is stretched out still.

Woe unto them that decree unrighteous decrees, and to the writers that write perverseness : to turn aside the needy from judgement, and to take away the right of the poor of my people, that widows may be their spoil, and that they may make the fatherless their prey ! And what will ye do in the day of visitation, and in the desolation which shall come from far ? to whom will ye flee for help ? and where will ye leave your glory ? They shall only bow

Ephraim against Gideon, of the tribe of Manasseh, is recounted, points to the same conclusion.

CHAPTER X.

Fourth Strophe (1-4). A denunciation of the legislators and judges who defraud the weak and defenceless.

1. The rulers are here referred to, not so much in their character of judges as of legislators. The rules and regulations which they drew up were for the benefit of the rich and powerful. They were 'recorders who kept on recording bane' and distress for the poor and weak. 'There must have existed in Israel at that time a considerable amount of written law' (Duhm), but it was evidently 'class legislation' of an oppressive character¹.

2. The last clause should read: 'while the orphans they plunder.'

3. For **desolation** read 'storm'; and for **glory** 'possessions.'

4. A very ingenious suggestion has been made by Lagarde (*Academy*, Dec. 15, 1870) which certainly remedies the somewhat difficult construction of the opening words of this verse. By a slight alteration of punctuation and arrangement of the

¹ Giesebrécht (*Beiträge sur Jesaiakritik*, p. 13) endeavours to show that these verses are the beginning of a lost oracle against Judah, to which the refrain, familiar to the readers of the preceding poem, came to be attached by an editor who by mistake combined it with ix. 8-21. It is quite true that the oppression of the widow and orphan and of the poor (verse 2) was a vice prevailing in Judah (i. 17, iii. 15, v. 7, 8); but a glance at the oracles of Amos directed against the northern kingdom (e.g. ii. 8, iii. 10, iv. 1, v. 11, &c.) shows that it equally prevailed there. Moreover, the same metre is found in x. 1-4 as in ix. 8 foll.

down under the prisoners, and shall fall under the slain.
For all this his anger is not turned away, but his hand is
stretched out still.

5 Ho Assyrian, the rod of mine anger, the staff in whose

characters of the Hebrew, he obtains the rendering : ‘Belti bows down, Osiris is broken.’ Belti was an Egyptian goddess, the feminine counterpart of Bēl or Baal. The influence of the Egyptian cults in Phoenicia is well known. According to Pietschmann (*Gesch. der Phönizier*, p. 271), the worship of both Osiris and Baalat (or Belti) was carried on in the Phoenician city of Byblus or Gebal. The northern or Ephraimite kingdom, since the time of Jeroboam I, was likewise exposed to Egyptian influence, though to a less extent, and the negotiations for an alliance with Egypt at this date (726 b. c.), to which the prophet Hosea makes repeated reference (vii. 11, xii. 1), doubtless served to increase that influence. There are, therefore, certain grounds of internal probability that Lagarde’s conjecture is correct. At the same time it is encountered by serious objections : (1) The mention of these Egyptian deities is entirely unprecedented in the O. T., and in *pre-exilian* literature has no parallel. It is only in the Deutero-Isaiah xlvi. 1 that the Babylonian deities Bēl and Nebo are mentioned as suffering downfall. (2) The proposed emendation somewhat disturbs the parallelism and symmetry of the verse.

The construction is certainly difficult, and must be linked to the preceding verse thus : ‘Unto whom are ye to flee for help, and where are ye to leave your possessions?’ And the answer follows : (Nowhere) ‘except one cowers’ under the prisoners, and falls under the slain.’ The Hebrew idiom finds a parallel in Gen. xlivi. 3. On the other hand, when we turn to the LXX we find full justification for the gravest doubts as to the integrity of our text. The shortness of this strophe and of that which follows in chap. v. 25, combined with the peculiar features of this verse, clearly prove that this part of the poem has been sadly mutilated.

Verses 3 foll. show that the prophet anticipated that ‘the day of visitation’ would take the form of foreign invasion. This becomes still clearer at the close of the poem (chap. v. 26–30), where the advance of the (Assyrian) foes is described.

CHAPTER X. 5-34.

We now come to a collection of oracles of varied character, of

¹ In the first clause an imperfect must be read in place of the perfect, in correspondence with the imperfect in the second clause.

hand is mine indignation! I will send him against a 6

which in some cases the Isaianic authorship has been denied. They are directed against the pride of Assyria, and predict its downfall. The contents of these oracles point to a much later period than those of the preceding poem, ix. 8—x. 4. Verse 9, which Duhm recognizes as Isaianic, clearly proves that at least verses 5–15 must have been composed after 717 B.C., the year in which Karkemish was captured by Sargon (see note). It is not improbable that Isaiah composed the lines beginning x. 5 foll. after the death of Sargon. They may have been written shortly before the time when his successor Sennacherib was engaged in war with Merodach-Baladan (Marduk-abal-iddin), king of Babylon. This war was waged in 704 B.C. About this year, or a little earlier, the embassy of Merodach-Baladan to Hezekiah, described in a Kings xx; Isa. xxviii (a Chron. xxxii. 44 foll.), took place¹. This was probably a time when the hopes of Judah revived. We might therefore date this prophecy 705–4 B.C. At this time the power of Egypt had been restored under the new twenty-fifth Ethiopian dynasty. See below, note on verse 20.

5. Owing to the addition of the words ‘in their hand’ by some Hebrew scribe or editor who wished to harmonize this verse with verse 24 (in which Assyria is said to be smiting Zion with its staff), the phraseology has become confused by the combination of two contradictory conceptions. The staff² is not in Assyria’s hand, but Assyria itself is the staff in God’s hand. Accordingly Duhm, who is now followed by Cheyne (*SBOT*), as well as Marti, strikes the offending words out, and reads:—

‘Woe Asshur, the rod of mine anger,
And the staff of my indignation!’

This is certainly clear and simple in construction. We would,

¹ Cf. Winckler, *Gesch. Babyloniens u. Assyriens*, pp. 129, 250 foll. It will be seen that we here recur to the view formerly advocated by Kuenen but since abandoned (*Historisch-kritische Einleitung, zweiter Teil*, p. 53). Probably the date of the entire collection of passages, verses 5–27, should be placed in the early part of Sennacherib’s reign, near to the time of the embassy of Merodach-Baladan to Judah.

² The word in the first line rendered ‘rod’ (*shébhet*) denotes a formidable weapon, viz. a club or mace whose round end is studded with nails. See above, note on ix. 4. Its true character is best understood by a reference to Ps. ii. 9 and Egyptian monuments. See Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, vol. I. p. 217.

profane nation, and against the people of my wrath will I give him a charge, to take the spoil, and to take the prey, and to tread them down like the mire of the streets.

7 Howbeit he meaneth not so, neither doth his heart think so; but it is in his heart to destroy, and to cut off nations
 8 not a few. For he saith, Are not my princes all of them
 9 kings? Is not Calno as Carchemish? is not Hamath as

however, suggest an alteration in the Hebrew not so drastic, and would render the second line:—

‘And the staff in mine indignant hand! ’

(*lit. hand of my indignation*). Due metric length is thus maintained.

6. mire: properly ‘clay.’ **the people of my wrath** means the people against whom my wrath is directed, which evidently means Judah.

7. he meaneth not so: viz. to be merely the instrument in God’s hands. Total destruction was not God’s purpose in reference to Judah, but purification and discipline. Asshur, however, has purposes of his own.

8. The boastful self-aggrandizing thoughts of Asshur are here cited. The viceroys (*pahatūti*) appointed by Assyrian monarchs over conquered towns and provinces are regarded as kings. The language here placed in the mouth of Assyria resembles that which, according to the historical narrative, appended by a later editor in xxxvii. 11 foll., was used by Rabshakeh to Hezekiah, which is obviously an echo of this passage and supplies an interesting commentary on it.

9. The cuneiform annals of Tiglath-Pileser and Sargon, combined with the Canon of Rulers, enable us to fix with precision the date of all the conquests to which this verse refers.

Carchemish is the Assyrian *Gargamis*, and is not, as was formerly supposed, Circesium, which was situated at the junction of the Chaboras (or Chabur) with the Euphrates, but much further to the north-east on the Euphrates stream. It is to be identified with the ruins at Jirbās or Jerābīs (called *Europos* by the Greeks), on the right bank of the river and a few miles north of its junction with the Sajūr. It was the capital city of the Hittites, and its king Pisiris is mentioned in the annals of Tiglath-Pileser as tributary in 743 and 738 B.C. But its final downfall belongs to the year 717 B.C., when its king Pisiris was taken prisoner and the Hittite empire became incorporated in the Assyrian; see Schrader, *COT.*, ii. p. 74 foll., and Winckler, *KAT.*³, p. 68.

Kalnō. Schrader in *COT.*, ii. p. 74 refrains from identifying this

Arpad? is not Samaria as Damascus? As my hand hath found the kingdoms of the idols, whose graven images did excel them of Jerusalem and of Samaria; shall I not, 11 as I have done unto Samaria and her idols, so do to Jerusalem and her idols?

Wherefore it shall come to pass, that when the Lord 12 hath performed his whole work upon mount Zion and on Jerusalem, I will punish the fruit of the stout heart of the

Kalno. It is evidently quite distinct from the Kalneh of Gen. x. 10, which Fried. Delitzsch (*Parad.* p. 225) identified with Kulunu, a Babylonian town. The Kalno with which we are here concerned was in the Syrian or Hittite region. Winckler, in *KAT.*³, p. 55, identifies it with one of the 'nineteen Hamathite towns' enumerated by Tiglath-Pileser called Kullani. He would read the Hebrew Kalnî instead of Kalnô. It was conquered by Tiglath-Pileser III in 738 b. c. Its further history we cannot trace.

Arpad was likewise subdued by Tiglath-Pileser (Canon of Rulers), but in later times Arpad, along with Samaria, is specially mentioned as aiding Ilu-bi'di of Hamath in an insurrectionary movement against Sargon (Khorsabad inscription, ll. 33 foll.). The defeat of Ilu-bi'di of Hamath, as well as of Arpad, took place in 720 b. c. (Schrader, *COT.*, ii. pp. 7 foll. and Winckler, *KAT.*³, p. 66). Arpad lies south-west of Carchemish, and 13 miles north of Haleb. Its site is marked by the ruins of Tell Erfâd.

Hamath is frequently mentioned in the inscriptions of the Assyrian kings from the time of Ašurnâṣirpal (884-860 b. c.) downwards, and was repeatedly conquered and finally lost its independence in 720 b. c., as above stated. Its modern name is Hamah, and, like Carchemish, was Hittite.

Damascus, along with its king Rezin (Assyrian, Rašunnu), was overthrown by Tiglath-Pileser III in the war of 734-2, while the downfall of Samaria took place in 721 (see Introduction).

10, 11. Read with R. V. (marg.) 'reached' instead of *found*, thereby substituting a more idiomatic rendering; and for *whose graven images* substitute the rendering 'though their graven images did excel, &c.; shall I not, &c. . . .' So ends the boast of Assyria, to be resumed in verse 13.

12. For *hath performed* read 'performs,' and for *I will punish* (the reading of the Heb. text) substitute the rendering of the LXX, 'He will punish,' thereby giving consistency of person to the sentence. These words have the appearance of having been supplied by the editor of Isaiah's oracles in his task of piecing them together.

13 king of Assyria, and the glory of his high looks. For he hath said, By the strength of my hand I have done it, and by my wisdom; for I am prudent: and I have removed the bounds of the peoples, and have robbed their treasures, and I have brought down as a valiant man
 14 them that sit *on thrones*: and my hand hath found as a nest the riches of the peoples; and as one gathereth eggs that are forsaken, have I gathered all the earth: and

13. Once more the language of Assyrian boasting is heard: 'And I have removed the frontiers of nations, and their stores have I plundered¹.' The boundaries of nations were abolished through forcible annexation, so that the frontiers became practically non-existent. The stores were plundered as the result of the regular operations of war, the soldiers of the invading army feeding on the crops, fruit, cattle, and all produce they could take. See 'War' in *Enc. Bibl.* In this way Assyria was graphically called a 'razor that is hired' by Yahweh (vii. 20). The last clause of this verse is very obscure, and some words may have been omitted. By substituting another word for the Hebrew original of **valiant man**, some have extorted the rendering: 'and I have brought down into the dust (or ashes) their inhabitants.' Duhm, after making this substitution, translates:—

'And caused to sink down into ashes [the towns],
 those enthroned.'

holding that some words have been omitted.

14. Spoliation by the Assyrian has gone on unchecked and unresisted. In boastful language he compares the process to birds'-

¹ Of this many illustrations might be gathered from the Assyrian inscriptions. Thus in Ašurnasirpal's Annal-inscriptions (col. ii. 117), in describing the conquest of the land Nařri, he says: 'the harvest of their land I harvested.' In an earlier passage in the same document he says: 'their spoils, possessions, and cattle I plundered' (col. i. 48). Similarly Rammān(Adad)-nirāri III (812-783 B.C.), in one of his Kalah inscriptions (Schrader, *KIB.*, i. p. 190), records his capture of spoil from the palace of Damascus, consisting of thousands of talents of gold, silver, copper and iron, finely wrought garments, and an ivory couch. The chief depositories of valuables were temples and royal palaces. In the great Khorsabad inscription of Sargon we read that the treasures of the palace of Urzana of Musasir, with wife, sons, and daughters, as well as gods, were carried off as plunder (*ll. 75 foll.*).

there was none that moved the wing, or that opened the mouth, or chirped. Shall the axe boast itself against him 15 that heweth therewith? shall the saw magnify itself against him that shaketh it? as if a rod should shake them that lift it up, or as if a staff should lift up *him that is not wood.*

Therefore shall the Lord, the LORD of hosts, send 16

nesting. ‘There was none that fluttered wing, or opened mouth, or chirped.’ Assyrian inscriptions present examples of the use of this very metaphor of a bird chased or attacked. Thus in a graphic passage of Ašur-naṣir-abal’s Annals (col. i. 48–51) he recounts his expedition to the land Nummi: ‘The inhabitants fled and occupied an inaccessible mountain. The mountain was very steep . . . The mountain’s summit towered up like the point of an iron dagger, and not a winged bird of heaven comes to it. Like the nest of an Udini bird, they had set their stronghold in the mountain. Whither none among the kings my predecessors (*lit.* ‘fathers’) had penetrated (!), within three days the warrior ascended the mountain; longing in his brave heart for battle he mounted, with his feet trod the mountain, broke its nest!’. Similarly in Sennacherib’s account of his campaign against ‘Hezekiah the Jew’ (Taylor cyl., col. iii. 20), he says, ‘Himself I shut like a bird in a cage in Jerusalem.’ The phrase reminds us of the language of the Egyptian governor in Palestine, Rib-Addi, in his dispatches to the Egyptian king, in which he compares his forlorn beleaguered position, when hard pressed in Gebal by the forces of Abd-Asirta, to that of a ‘bird sitting in a snare’ (or, perhaps, wicker cage)¹. These parallels show that the language of the Assyrian monarchs is faithfully reflected in Isaiah’s oracle.

15. Assyria’s egotism is here made the subject of a grotesque simile which exhibits the nation’s pride in its true light as a monstrous inversion of actual relations.

16. For leanness substitute ‘consumption.’ The fat ones

¹ We have given here Peiser’s text and rendering (some details of which, it must be confessed, are doubtful, though the general sense is clear), Schrader, *KIB.*, vol. i. We have somewhat similar language in Shamshi-Rammān’s inscription (col. ii. 48 foll.), in which the royal conqueror compares himself to an eagle swooping on his prey.

² Winckler’s edition of the Tell el Amarna inscriptions, transcribed in Schrader’s *KIB.*, vol. v (viz. 55. 45–48, 60. 35, &c.; cf. with this expression *Jer.* v. 27).

among his fat ones leanness ; and under his glory there shall be kindled a burning like the burning of fire.

17 And the light of Israel shall be for a fire, and his Holy One for a flame : and it shall burn and devour his thorns 18 and his briers in one day. And he shall consume the glory of his forest, and of his fruitful field, both soul and body : and it shall be as when a standardbearer fainteth.

19 And the remnant of the trees of his forest shall be few, that a child may write them.

20 And it shall come to pass in that day, that the remnant

here referred to are, of course, the Assyrians who are to be overthrown by a Divine judgment.

17. The **light of Israel**, like the ‘Holy One of Israel,’ is a designation of Yahweh Himself. The image somewhat resembles that of Zech. xii. 6, cf. also Ps. xxvii. 1.

18. For **body** substitute the more accurate rendering ‘flesh’; and for **standardbearer fainteth** read, with R. V. marg., ‘as when a sick man pineth away.’

19. The glory of the woods as well as of the orchards is destroyed. Only a slight remnant of the forest trees remains. This desolation would be wrought by the hand of the invader. The prophet is probably thinking of the destruction of forest trees inflicted by the Assyrians themselves on conquered countries. The like punishment is to be meted out to Assyria. Respecting palm-groves Robertson Smith (*O. T. in Jewish Church*², p. 369) remarks that their destruction was a favourite exploit in Arabian warfare. The same was only too true of Assyrian. Thus Tiglath-Pileser III, in describing his operations against Chinzer (iii Rawl. 67. 23, 24), says : ‘The plantations of palm which were close to his fortress I cut down, not a single one did I leave.’ The policy recommended by Elisha to the Israelites in their war with Moab (2 Kings iii. 9) was to adopt this barbarous expedient, but the more advanced ethical spirit of the Book of Deuteronomy forbade it (Deut. xx. 18, 20). Moreover, it was the custom of the Assyrian kings to carry off valuable trees for home use, where they were either employed in buildings and internal decorations or planted in their parks. See the Prism inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I (1100 B. C.), col. vii. ll. 17-27 ; and art. ‘Garden’ in *Enc. Bibl.*

Verses 20-23. There are no sufficient grounds for denying the *Isaianic authorship* of these or of the preceding verses. Certainly there is no argument to be advanced on the ground of style, for

of Israel, and they that are escaped of the house of Jacob, shall no more again stay upon him that smote them ; but shall stay upon the LORD, the Holy One of Israel, in

even Cheyne concedes that 'the whole passage is to a great extent a mosaic of Isaianic expressions and images' (*Introduction*, p. 52) ; and the candid confession of Duhm, in his introductory remarks to verses 5-34, is instructive as well as noteworthy : 'In separating what is genuine from the added interpolations a certain subjective process is, of course, inevitable.' On the other hand, it must be admitted that the connexion of this section with the preceding passage is a loose one, and that verses 24 foll. follow more naturally on verses 16-19 than on verses 20-23. But this is due to the character of the entire chapter, which is, like chap. iii and chap. v, a patchwork of Isaianic fragments united by a single dominating motive, the ultimate overthrow of proud Assyria, Yahweh's instrument of chastisement, and the restoration, moral and material, of the 'remnant of Israel.' The problem which confronts us here is analogous to that of Isa. ix. 1-7. Just as the sign and name Immanuel was not intended to be a vague illusive phantom, but a definite conception, so the name Sheār Yashūbh ('Remnant shall return,' i. e. be converted and restored) needed an explicit declaration such as we find in verses 21, 22. This passage, again, belongs to the closing years of the prophet's life.

20. The editorial *And it shall come to pass in that day* introduces the passage as in viii. 18, 21 ; cf. iii. 18, iv. 2. The somewhat artificial link of connexion between this verse and the preceding is the word *remnant*. There are not infrequent examples of passages thus linked by word rather than thought, (e. g. xxviii. 5 foll. linked to preceding by the word 'crown' (cf. verse 1) ; Ps. ii linked with Ps. i in early times through the same word 'blessed' in Ps. i. 1 recurring at the close of Ps. ii ; Luke xiii. 34 foll. linked to verse 33 through recurrence of the word 'Jerusalem.' The true sequence is in Matt. xxiii.) The objection is raised by Cheyne that reliance upon Assyria (presupposed in verse 20) had no relevancy in the days of Hezekiah. But this is assuming too much. We know that there was an Egyptian party in Jerusalem, and that their policy was supported by Hezekiah ; but it is highly probable that there was an Assyrian party also, and that the policy which Ahaz had followed, and thereby purchased safety for his kingdom amid the disasters which overwhelmed Ephraim, had many followers in the southern kingdom. It is not improbable that Hezekiah himself leaned to it in the days of Sargon, when the heavy hand of the latter was felt by Ashdod and other Philistine cities. Certainly the immunity of Judah would hardly have been explicable on any other hypo-

21 truth. A remnant shall return, *even* the remnant of
 22 Jacob, unto the mighty God. For though thy people Israel be as the sand of the sea, *only* a remnant of them shall return: a consumption *is* determined, overflowing

thesis. It was the death of Sargon and the diversion created by Merodach-Baladan, as well as the recovery of Egypt in 708 under the new twenty-fifth or Ethiopian dynasty of Shabako, that created new factors and raised fresh hopes (see Introduction). The principle of dependence on Yahweh alone was the lesson taught by Hosea to Ephraim, and is the ever-recurring note of Isaiah's message to Ahaz (see notes on chaps. vii and viii), and is implied in the watchword 'Immanuel.'

21. The language used by Isaiah in vii. 3 ('Shear Yashubh, 'Remnant shall return') and in ix. 6 ('Mighty God,' or Hero God) recurs here.

22. The metaphor of the sand of the sea in connexion with the great increase of the race of Israel recurs in O. T. literature (Gen. xxii. 17, xxxii. 13;¹ Hos. ii. 1). But here the increase is only supposed. If there be such an increase, only a remnant shall be converted to Yahweh. It is not easy to determine the precise limits of the expression *return* in the significant phrase, given by Isaiah as a prophetic sign as well as name to one of his sons. All are agreed that it means primarily 'shall return to Yahweh,' or be converted. Yet it is possible that it might even have a physical as well as moral sense. By this time the larger portion of Israel had been deported by the Assyrian conqueror to the East (721 B. C.), and even some of the inhabitants of the southern kingdom as well as the northern may have fled to Egypt. A diaspora already existed. Isaiah, like Amos, addressed oracles to the northern branch of the Hebrew race. Ephraim and Judah alike came under Yahweh's dispensations of discipline and grace. Subsequent prophets (notably Ezekiel) kept Ephraim as well as Judah within the circle of God's redemptive purposes. The question therefore arises whether the conception of the return from exile of a purified remnant of Israel could have come (as Orelli and the older exegetes thought) within the intellectual horizon of Isaiah! All recent critics are opposed to this extension of the significance of the Hebrew *Yashubh*. The remnant was to return to Yahweh, purely in the *moral* sense. It was Ezekiel who first explicitly prophesied the return from exile.

¹ Both passages belong to the document J, either in its earlier or its later stratum, i. e. are pre-exilic.

with righteousness. For a consummation, and that 23
determined, shall the Lord, the LORD of hosts, make in
the midst of all the earth.

Therefore thus saith the Lord, the LORD of hosts, O 24
my people that dwellest in Zion, be not afraid of the
Assyrian : though he smite thee with the rod, and lift up
his staff against thee, after the manner of Egypt. For 25
yet a very little while, and the indignation shall be
accomplished, and mine anger, in their destruction.
And the LORD of hosts shall stir up against him a scourge,

23. The **consumption** and **consummation** (renderings somewhat skilfully devised by R. V. to express the two closely allied words in the original) are to fall upon the whole world. In it Assyria is primarily involved ; but Israel also comes within its scope. Its final purpose, expressed by the graphic phrase **overflowing with righteousness**, is the fulfilment of the Divine moral ideals in the government of the world. Cf. the language of xi. 9^b and lxvi. 12^a.

24 follows more naturally on verse 19 ; yet the connexion in thought with verse 23 is really not remote. The inhabitants of Zion are exhorted not to fear Assyria. The **manner of Egypt** is an allusion to the old days of the oppression (Exod. ii. 11, v. 5-19, &c.). Assyria is oppressing Israel now as Egypt did then.

25. The accomplishment of God's purpose of universal destruction (or 'consumption') will take place after a brief interval. An ingenious attempt has been made by several scholars (Luzatto, Grätz, &c.) to rearrange the Hebrew characters in the last clause of this verse, so that it would read : 'and my wrath upon the world will come to an end,' i. e. cease (cf. Deut. xxxi. 24, 30 for this use of the verb), but this contradicts the drift of the entire verse as well as the following. Accordingly Delitzsch would render the verb at the close of the reconstructed Heb. verse 'shall be fulfilled or accomplished.' By the 'world' we must naturally understand 'the whole earth' of verse 23, which to Isaiah could only mean Western Asia and Egypt. This would therefore denote chiefly the Assyrian Empire, which included most of Western Asia. On the other hand, if we rest satisfied with our Heb. text, reading *tablitkdm* (or more probably, with some MSS., *taclitħām*), their destruction, the reference points more definitely to Assyria, mentioned in the preceding verse. This is in complete harmony with the following verses.

26. For the object of the Divine scourge (*against him*) is not

as in the slaughter of Midian at the rock of Oreb : and his rod shall be over the sea, and he shall lift it up after 27 the manner of Egypt. And it shall come to pass in that day, that his burden shall depart from off thy shoulder, and his yoke from off thy neck, and the yoke shall be destroyed because of the anointing.

the inhabited 'world,' which the proposed reading would lead us to assume, but Israel's oppressor Asshur mentioned in verse 24. The thought is the same as that of ix. 4 (3 Heb.).

With the expression 'stir up a scourge' cf. the expression 'lifted up his spear' in 2 Sam. xxiii. 18. The Heb. for *stir up* and 'lift up' in these two passages is the same verb. In connexion with Midian and the rock 'Oreb cf. Judges vii. 25; Ps. lxxxiii. 7-12. The name 'Oreb means 'raven' or 'crow' (cf. 1 Kings xvii. 46). According to Robertson Smith, these names of animals point to the existence of clans resembling those found among the Arabs, which believed that they were descended from animal ancestors. The animal ancestor or 'totem' was regarded as sacred, and the sacrifice of its life was hedged about with restrictions. See Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 295, 'Kinship and marriage in Early Arabia,' chap. vii; Barton, *Semitic Origins*, pp. 34-8; Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, i. 402, ii. pp. 229-38.

27. The overthrow of Assyria meant relief to Judah from the galling yoke of Assyrian rule. From the days of Ahaz till the close of the reign of Sargon the relation of Judah to the empire on the Tigris was probably one of vassalage, or closely approximating thereto. The last clause has been much discussed and amended. The rendering of R. V. marg. 'and the yoke shall be destroyed because of fatness' (i.e. Judah will throw off the yoke because she has become more full of vigour and prosperity) is far-fetched. The LXX render: 'And the yoke shall be destroyed from your shoulders,' which evidently points to a slight reconstruction of text. But it is an extremely weak ending, and a mere repetition of the first clause in slightly varied form. Under these circumstances it seems on the whole best to follow Duhm's reconstruction of the text, which takes away from this verse the last three words in the original and connects them with the following. Then by the alteration of the initial character of the verbal form that immediately precedes we get the rendering:—

'Then in that day shall his burden (viz. of Assyria) pass away from upon thy shoulder,

And his yoke shall be destroyed from upon thy neck.

28. The last three Hebrew words are changed and connected with verse 28. Verses 28-32 were obviously composed

He is come to Aiath, he is passed through Migron ; at 28
 Michmash he layeth up his baggage : they are gone over 29
 the pass ; they have taken up their lodging at Geba :

several years after the preceding passages. We may assign them to the year 702-1, after Sennacherib had overthrown the persistent adversary of Assyrian power, Merodach-Baladan, and was directing his armies from the north against Judah and Philistia. The prophet forecasts his route of march, and vividly portrays the emotions of the inhabitants as each stage is reached by the invading hosts of the Assyrian conqueror. Render the restored text : 'He advances (*lit. goes up*) from Penē-Rimmon, comes upon Ayyath, passes over to Migron, hands over his baggage to Michmash.'

Local considerations strongly favour the reading adopted by Duhm and reproduced in the above rendering. With the form *Penē-Rimmón* ('face of Rimmon,' or more properly Rammán) cf. the form *Penu* (or *Peni*) *el* (Gen. xxxii. 30; Judges viii. 8 foll.; 1 Kings xii. 25) and *Penē-Baal* (= Tanit) in Carthaginian inscriptions. The track may be easily followed by the reader who will consult a good modern map of Palestine. See Bädeker's map of Judaea in his *Palestine and Syria*. The spot here mentioned is to be identified with the 'rock of Rimmon' (Judges xx. 45, and see Moore's note) and with the present hill of *Rammún* (Bädeker, p. 119), lying four English miles east of Bétin or Bethel, and three miles south of Et-Tayibeh. The worship in Canaan of the god Rammán (Rimmon), whose name was blended with that of the Syrian Adad (Hadad), is attested by the interesting passage Zech. xii. 11. 'Ayyath is identified with the ancient Ai (Joshua vii. 2 foll. : cf. also 1 Chron. vii. 28; Neh. xi. 31), but its position is uncertain. *Migron* is probably the present *Makrún*, lying south-east of the village Burka, a ruined spot north of Michmash (Dillmann, Kittel, Marti, *Enc. Bibl.*). *Michmash*, celebrated in the war between Saul and the Philistines (1 Sam. xiii. 2 foll.), is the present *Muchmás*, a short distance north-east of Geba, and separated from it by the Wâdy Suwénît. Here the enemy, according to the prophet's vivid forecast, is compelled to leave his baggage, for as Bädeker informs us, 'the sides of the Wâdy Suwénît, the ancient pass of Michmash, are very steep, answering to their description in 1 Sam. xiv. 4, 13.'

29-32. The pass which they go through is, of course, the Wâdy Suwénît above mentioned, which contracts to a rocky entrance only a few paces broad at the base of the valley. 'They have bivouacked as their night quarter at Geba.' This is the most satisfactory rendering. Marti, however, follows Knobel, Delitzsch, Driver, and Duhm, as well as the Peshitto and Vulgate, in rendering

30 Ramah trembleth; Gibeah of Saul is fled. Cry aloud with thy voice, O daughter of Gallim!

31 hearken, O Laishah! O thou poor Anathoth! Madmenah is a

the Hebrew 'Geba' has become our night quarter,' and regarding these words as the exclamation of the foe. So R.V. marg., but this is certainly a forced interpretation. LXX renders from a different and apparently corrupted text. 'Geba' is the present 'Jeba' (the old name in Arabic).

When the army of the invader has reached this point, the utmost alarm prevails in the neighbouring villages. Terror is naturally felt at the village of *Rāmāh*, the modern *Er-Rām*, a height standing about two miles west of *Jeba*. The excitement spreads to another height, *Gibeah of Saul*, identified by most commentators with *Tell el Fūl*, standing a little over four miles north-north-west of Jerusalem, nearly midway between that city and *Geba*. The inhabitants of this spot take to flight. *Gallim* and *Laishah* are evidently closely adjoining villages which cannot be identified. The next clause should be rendered with R.V. marg. 'Answer her, 'Anathoth,' i. e. answer the cry of the daughter of *Gallim* (*Bath Gallim*). It is the rendering of Peshitto, and is followed by Lowth, Ewald, Cheyne, Duhm, &c., as well as R.V. marg. This is preferable to the other possible interpretations thou poor *Anathoth*! and 'Anathoth is bowed' (in terror). 'Anathoth is the modern 'Anātā, about one mile south-east of *Tell el Fūl*, and a little more than three miles north-east of Jerusalem. It is celebrated as the birthplace of Jeremiah (Jer. i. 1), and the spot where his life was placed in great peril (xi. 21-23). It 'seems to have been fortified in ancient times, and fragments of columns are built into the huts of the present village' (Bädeker). 'Madmēnah flits' like a terrified bird. This is the meaning of the original (cf. Isa. xvi. 2; Jer. iv. 25; Ps. lv. 8; Prov. xxvii. 8 in the Heb.). 'The inhabitants of *Gebim* seek flight.' The word *Gebim* means 'water-cisterns' hollowed out of the rock (2 Kings iii. 16; Jer. xiv. 3). Neither this place nor Madmēnah can be identified. *Nōb* (which is also mentioned in 1 Sam. xxi; Neh. xi. 32) must have been situated in the immediate neighbourhood of Jerusalem, but its locality can no longer be fixed. Since the foe has advanced as far as Nob, he is in a position to threaten ('shake his hand at') Jerusalem itself. Our Hebrew text reads 'house of Zion,' but that expression is never employed, and the correction *daughter of Zion* in many versions and MSS. is rightly adopted here.

Marti considers that the 'jingle' of assonances that we find in these verses (28-32) is foreign to Isaiah's style. Yet he himself admits that Isaiah employed them on special occasions (e.g. chap.

fugitive ; the inhabitants of Gebim gather themselves to flee.
This very day shall he halt at Nob : he shaketh his hand ³²
at the mount of the daughter of Zion, the hill of Jerusalem.

Behold, the Lord, the LORD of hosts, shall lop the ³³
boughs with terror : and the high ones of stature shall be
hewn down, and the lofty shall be brought low. And he ³⁴
shall cut down the thickets of the forest with iron, and
Lebanon shall fall by a mighty one.

v. 7, vi. 11; vii. 9). The vivid style is Isaiah's. We are reminded of chap. v. 26-30, vii. 18-20, viii. 7, 8, xxviii. 1-4. It is impossible to find any adequate historic occasion for the delivery of such an oracle in the reign of Sargon. Sargon's reference to 'the land *Ya-u-dw* whose situation is remote' in the Nimrud inscription, l. 8, is far too slender a basis on which to erect the hypothesis of an invasion of Judah. The mention of Hamath in the following line of the inscription renders it probable that here, as elsewhere, the land *Ya-u-dw* is the country called *Yâdi* in the Senjirli inscriptions, in closer geographical connexion with Hamath than Judah, and lying in the distant north. We have had occasion to state that all the indications point to the conclusion that during the reign of Sargon Hezekiah followed the same policy as his father adopted, viz. that of vassalage to Assyria. Accordingly the only date that is possible for this oracle is 702-1. It is true that Sennacherib's armies in the campaign of 701, described with such detail in the Taylor cylinder, followed another and a more westerly route. But this is simply an illustration of the principle that it is only in the general contents and large outlines of prophecy that fulfilment is to be expected.

Verses 33 and 34 can hardly belong to the same date as 28-32, for they are not a continuation of the preceding oracle, in which the prevailing sentiment is one of panic. They either belong to a subsequent date, when the armies of Assyria had been withdrawn from Judah ; or they originate in an earlier year, viz. 704-3, when the oracle, verses 5 foll., was composed. The conception in verses 33 foll. is the same as that of verses 17, 18.

33. Duhm renders 'lops off the crown of the tree with the axe,' but the alteration of the Hebrew word for terror (or, 'terrible might'; Cheyne 'crash') into another, meaning 'axe,' is arbitrary. So Marti, who compares Isaiah's own language in ii. 19, 21. Indeed, verses 12-21 show a striking parallel with the present passage. Translate : 'and its tallest branches shall be hewn down.'

34. Of course, the mighty one is Yahweh Himself, who brings about the overthrow of Assyria's pride.

11 And there shall come forth a shoot out of the stock of

CHAPTER XI.

Verses 1-9 form the close of another brief collection of oracles, beginning with the denunciation of doom through Assyria against Ephraim, ix. 8 foll., and followed by a prophecy of overthrow against proud Assyria itself. Again a beautiful Messianic passage brings the small group of oracles to an end. The glory of the Messiah's Kingdom of righteousness and peace is described. It cannot be said that the linguistic evidence against the genuineness of this poem is at all formidable, as it is presented in Cheyne's *Introduction*. The specialities of diction are those which might be expected in such a unique and highly exalted poem. It follows quite naturally on the prophecy of Assyria's overthrow. Kuenen remarks with perfect justice that there is no immediate connexion with the preceding section, and his further observation that there is absolute silence respecting the Assyrians, who are referred to in the preceding x. 5-34 and in the Messianic passage ix. 4 (Heb. 3), may be admitted to be true, though an allusion to Assyria may lurk in the 'bear' and 'lion' of verse 7. For the further discussion on this subject see notes on ii. 2-4 and Isa. ix. 1-7 (at the close). Like those passages, the present Messianic poem was composed at the close of the prophet's life, after the withdrawal of Sennacherib's army in 701 B.C. It represents the utmost range of the prophetic vision, and the last scene of the eschatological drama that lay unfolded to his gaze. The judgment or 'day of the Lord' on Israel and on Assyria who oppressed him is past. We even hear no echo of the final overthrow of the Assyrian power by the Divine warrior-king of Isa. ix. 1-7. We see only the reign of righteousness and peace under Jesse's descendant. The hostile powers are at peace with their former foes. The strong and the weak live together in friendship and mutual trust.

Verses 1-2 deal with the personality of the Messianic ruler.

1. The 'stump' or *stock* of Jesse's family or Davidic ancestry seems to have been the phrase which led the editor of these poetic fragments to combine this poem with the preceding, where the destruction of the forests of Lebanon is portrayed. In contrast with this overthrow we have the *stock of Jesse* preserved and sending forth a living branch. On this conception of the 'branch or sprout of Yahweh' used by Jeremiah and Zechariah (Jer. xxiii. 5, xxxiii. 15; Zech. iii. 8, vi. 12) see note on Isa. iv. 2. There, however, the Hebrew phrase is different from that which is used here and is employed in a different sense. Here, as in Jeremiah and Zechariah, the reference is to a personal Davidic ruler (though in

Jesse, and a branch out of his roots shall bear fruit: and the spirit of the LORD shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the LORD; and his delight shall be in the fear of the LORD: 3 and he shall not judge after the sight of his eyes, neither

the case of Jeremiah the conception of a succession of rulers may also be involved¹).

The expression 'stock' or 'trunk' is suggestive. The Hebrew original (cf. the corresponding Arabic root) means what remains after the branches and twigs have been lopped off. The 'house of David' is involved in the fiery trial that awaits Israel (cf. x. 12, 20, 22, 24). Yet it is not necessary to suppose that the line of David's descendants will altogether disappear and a second David arise, as Duhm supposes. The Davidic succession had persisted for three centuries in strange and awe-inspiring contrast to the many and violent changes of dynasty in the northern kingdom. In the days of Isaiah the belief in the perpetuation of the line (cf. Jer. xxxiii. 17; 2 Sam. vii. 16; 1 Kings ii. 4) had already taken root.

2. The conception of the 'spirit of Yahweh' is here no narrow one. It assumes varied forms to meet the varied duties and relations of life to be sustained by the Messianic ruler. It begins with 'wisdom,' and the recital closes with 'religion' or the 'fear of Yahweh' which is the beginning or fundamental principle of wisdom (Prov. ix. 10; Ps. cxi. 10: cf. Prov. i. 7). We see therefore that there are diversities of gifts involved in the possession of this one spirit of God (1 Cor. xii. 4 foll.). Among these gifts we note that the characteristics of the 'Wondrous Counsellor,' and the 'Warrior-hero,' ix. 6 (5 Heb.), viz. 'counsel' and 'might,' are included.

3. The expression *his delight shall be in the fear of the LORD* has occasioned some difficulty. Duhm regards it as a variant or gloss, and rejects it from the text. The original Hebrew properly means 'his smelling' or 'scenting with satisfaction,' and hence 'taking pleasure in,' used especially of Yahweh taking pleasure in and so accepting sacrifice or sacrificial ceremonial (cf. 1 Sam. xxvi. 19; Amos v. 21), but here the Hebrew original hardly gives a good sense. The LXX by their rendering indicate

¹ Jer. xxxiii. 15-17 are regarded by Cornill and other critics as a later addition. Probably this extension of the personal Messianic idea into a succession of rulers came later.

4 reprove after the hearing of his ears : but with righteousness shall he judge the poor, and reprove with equity for the meek of the earth : and he shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips shall 5 he slay the wicked. And righteousness shall be the girdle of his loins, and faithfulness the girdle of his reins. 6 And the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid ; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together ; and a little child shall lead

a more probable reading, and we might with good reason adopt this and render 'and He (i. e. God) will cause the fear of Yahweh to rest on him.'

The following words (verses 3-5) describe the character of the Messiah-King's rule. It is to be characterized by justice to the weak and suffering, and stern chastisement of the wicked. For **reprove** read with R. V. (marg.) 'decide' ; so also in verse 4.

4. For **poor** in the first clause render with Cheyne 'helpless.' The following clause should then be translated : 'and will give decision in equity for the lowly one of the land.' Some scholars, as Duhm, Cheyne, and Marti, consider that **earth** in the next clause is due to a corruption of the original text, which should be corrected to a more significant word which they would substitute. They would accordingly render : 'And will smite the *tyrant* (or, violent one) with the rod of his mouth.' The parallelism of the last two clauses is thereby rendered more complete. On the other hand, the LXX and other versions lend no support to this emendation.

5. This symbolic use of **girdle** is characteristic of the O.T., which often employs the metaphor of clothing to express the possession of spiritual qualities : 'garments of praise' (Isa. lxi. 3), 'robe of righteousness' (*ibid.* verse 10 : cf. Job xxix. 14). In the second parallel clause 'faithfulness' or 'truth takes the place of 'righteousness' in the first. Cf. Eph. vi. 14.

In verses 6-9 the consequences of the rule of the Messianic Prince are portrayed in the form of an idyllic picture of a paradise of peace. The wolf that now preys upon the lamb shall then enter into relations of friendship with the latter. Both become fellow sojourners and guests in the same peaceful household. This conception of mutual amity is worked out with other beasts of prey and tame cattle. Note the obvious borrowing in lv. 25.

The latter part of verse 6 is doubtful. The LXX render : 'And *calf and bull and lion shall feed together.*' This is not improbably

them. And the cow and the bear shall feed ; their young 7 ones shall lie down together : and the lion shall eat straw like the ox. And the sucking child shall play on the hole 8 of the asp, and the weaned child shall put his hand on the basilisk's den. They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my 9 holy mountain: for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the **LORD**, as the waters cover the sea.

[Ex.] And it shall come to pass in that day, that the 10 root of Jesse, which standeth for an ensign of the peoples,

the embodiment of a conflate reading combining two variants, one of which read 'bull' and the other 'calf.' Probably the true reading was : 'And calf and young lion shall feed together.' The young lad who leads them has no fear of the lion which, as we learn subsequently, ceases to be carnivorous.

Verse 9 is the natural conclusion to the poem; it contains nothing out of harmony with verse 4 (as Duhm supposes), where the policy of the just Messianic ruler is described as tending to the suppression of all wrongdoing. In consequence of this the violent are disciplined to gentleness, and wrongdoing disappears throughout 'God's holy mountain.' See note on xiii. 20.

Verses 10-16 are rightly connected together by most commentators, including Kittel and Marti, and portray a further series of results of the ideal or Messianic rule. But the conceptions are later and are evidently an extension of the ideas expressed in the preceding Isaianic prophecy as well as of those which underlie ii. 2-4. These are worked out in detail. Doubtless a diaspora existed of Hebrews belonging to both the northern and southern kingdoms even in the days of Isaiah; many of these found their way to Egypt as well as Assyria (cf. Hos. ix. 3, 6). Verse 12 reminds us of Isa. xlix. 22, while the earlier part of verse 15 reminds us of Isa. l. 2 (latter part). In other words, we are in verses 10 foll. transplanted into the days of the Exile (or into those which immediately followed), and are hearing Deutero-Isaianic echoes. Yet the language is that of a student of Isaiah's genuine oracles, and the Hebrew words for 'remnant,' 'seek unto,' 'ensign,' 'highway,' 'shake his hand' are expressions used by the eighth-century prophet. On the other hand, 'coastlands (islands) of the sea,' 'outcasts of Israel,' 'corners of the earth' are not phrases employed by Isaiah. Cf. Ezek. vii. 2; Job xxxvii. 3.

10. The root of Jesse here takes the place of the 'stock' (or 'trunk') of verse 1, and must be understood not in the literal and original sense which the word bears ('roots') in verse 1, but

unto him shall the nations seek ; and his resting place shall be glorious.

11. And it shall come to pass in that day, that the Lord shall set his hand again the second time to recover the remnant of his people, which shall remain, from Assyria, and from Egypt, and from Pathros, and from Cush, and from Elam, and from Shinar, and from Hamath, and from

with the extended meaning of ‘sapling’ or ‘sprout’ as in liii. 2. The conception of this verse is not unlike that of iv. 2, 5.

11. The LXX by their rendering suggest that *second time* (*shēnith*) is an unnecessary addition which has crept into the Hebrew Massoretic text, since their translation contains no equivalent. It is probably due to the corruption of another word (*s'ēth*) which stood in its place in the original text, and which a full construction requires. Render : ‘will again raise his hand to win the remnant of his people.’ Marti thinks that the prophet refers to a second ingathering of exiles after the first return had taken place in the days of Zerubbabel and Ezra. He does not distinguish between the return under Zerubbabel from that under Ezra. Both are blended in one, and are regarded as one past event by the prophet, who eagerly anticipates another return of yet further bands of exiles. This is, of course, a possible view if the passage is to be placed so late. But there is a more probable explanation. When the writer uses the expression *again*, he is looking back to a much more distant event than that which occurred in 536 B. C. and the following years. He is thinking of the great event stamped on the memory of Israel from the earliest times, viz. the deliverance from Egypt to which verse 16 alludes. The reference to this central fact of Israel’s history constantly recurs in O. T. literature.

Pathros represents Upper Egypt, while *Cush* represents Ethiopia (*Nubia*), (Gen. x. 6, 14). *Shin'ar* is a generic term for Babylonia¹. All these latter names Duhm regards as a mere enumeration added later by some scribe to the text. *Elam*, in Babylonian *Elamtu* or Susiana, called also *Ansan*, the kingdom first ruled by Cyrus.

¹ The identification of this Hebrew proper name *Shin'ar* with the Babylonian name, appearing in the cuneiform, *Shum'er*, adopted formerly by many scholars, including Schrader (*COT.*, i. p. 103 foll.), is now given up by leading Assyriologists. That *Shin'ar* designated *Babylonia* is clear from Gen. xi. 1-9; cf. x. 10.

the islands of the sea. And he shall set up an ensign for 12 the nations, and shall assemble the outcasts of Israel, and gather together the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth. The envy also of Ephraim shall 13 depart, and they that vex Judah shall be cut off: Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim. And they shall fly down upon the shoulder of the Philistines on the west; together shall they spoil the children of the east: they shall put forth their hand upon Edom and Moab; and the children of Ammon shall obey them.

12. In v. 26 the banner is raised to rally foreign peoples *against* Ephraim. Here both foreign peoples and the exiles of Israel (including Ephraim, verse 13) are to be rallied under Yahweh's uplifted standard.

13. The 'envy (or jealousy) of Ephraim' should be interpreted in accordance with the concluding clauses of this verse. Evidently the jealous rivalry felt by the southern kingdom for Ephraim is meant, and not the hostility of *foreign nations* against Ephraim (as Marti interprets the phrase). If modern critics (including Marti himself) are correct in assigning these verses to the exilian or post-exilian period, the hostility of foreign nations towards Ephraim must have long ago ceased to count as a real factor in the historic situation. On the other hand, the mutual jealousy of Samaria and Jerusalem was painfully evident in the early post-exilian times.

The 'oppressors of Judah' may have included Ephraimites; but probably other and foreign peoples are likewise meant: cf. Neh. ii. 10, 19.

14. The **shoulder** of the Philistines is a term descriptive of the physical configuration of the mountainous central region of Southern Palestine as it slopes down to the coast-land occupied by the Philistine people. Similarly the proper name *Shechem* signifies a ridge, properly 'neck.'

In contrast with the Philistines on the west (*lit.* in Hebrew 'seawards') we have the 'sons of the east,' predatory nomadic Arabian tribes of the desert lying on the eastern side of Palestine, perhaps descendants of the Midianites and Amalekites of the early pre-exilian times of the judges. To identify these with the Arabs ruled by Aretas and subdued by Alexander Jannaeus about 100 B. C. would be an extravagant hypothesis, though supported by Duhm and Marti. It is exceedingly improbable that any passage in the Hebrew prophets can be assigned to so late

15 And the LORD shall utterly destroy the tongue of the Egyptian sea ; and with his scorching wind shall he shake his hand over the River, and shall smite it into seven streams, and cause men to march over dryshod. And there shall be an high way for the remnant of his people, which shall remain, from Assyria ; like as there was for Israel in the day that he came up out of the land of Egypt.

a period. It must be confessed that our knowledge of the earlier post-exilian Hebrew history after 536 B. C. is exceedingly defective, and historic identifications are therefore very precarious.

The predatory nomads are to be plundered in their turn by Israel the restored nation. Similarly Edom and Moab, Israel's bitter foes at various periods of pre-exilian history (Num. xx. 14-21, xxi. 4; 1 Sam. xiv. 47; 2 Sam. viii. 13 foll.; 2 Kings viii. 20-22, xiv. 7; cf. Lam. iv. 21 foll.; Ezek. xxxv. 3-15; Obad. 10-16; Isa. xxxiv. and lxiii. 1-6 with reference to Edom; 2 Kings iii and xi, xiii. 20, Amos i. 13 in reference to Moab).

'The Ammonites shall obey them.' In the original we have the abstract used in place of the personal and concrete : 'shall be their obedience,' i. e. subjects to them. Their hostility to Israel in early pre-exilian times is testified by Deut. xxiii. 4; Judges x. 6-xii. 7; 1 Sam. xi; 2 Sam. xi. 1. These three peoples, Edom, Moab, and Ammon, were closely kindred to Israel, as the patriarchal narratives and genealogies in Genesis clearly prove. The language of the Moabite Stone exhibits only slight dialectic divergence from Hebrew, and its religious ideas manifest the closest analogies to those of ancient Israel. Cf. Wellhausen in *Enc. Bibl.* vol. iii. 'Moab.'

15. shall utterly destroy the tongue of the Egyptian sea. The Hebrew properly signifies 'shall place under a ban' or 'devote to destruction,' a term frequently employed in the Book of Joshua of the Canaanite cities and their inhabitants and property. But the expression does not apply so suitably to the bay of a sea. Accordingly we had best follow the reading of the Hebrew, which is the basis of the rendering of the LXX and other versions. This involves a very slight deviation from the Massoretic text, and is much more appropriate. Read: 'And he will *dry up* the tongue,' &c. The thought of the prophet reverts to the story of the Exodus ; cf. xxxvii. 25, l. 2.

'scorching wind' or 'glowing wind' is the interpretation given by Saadia of the doubtful Massoretic Hebrew text. The rendering of the LXX, Vulg., and Syr. 'violent wind' (see marg. of R. V.)

[P E.] And in that day thou shalt say, I will give thanks 12 unto thee, O LORD ; for though thou wast angry with me, thine anger is turned away, and thou comfortest me. Behold, God is my salvation ; I will trust, and will not be afraid : for the LORD JEHOVAH is my strength and song ; and he is become my salvation. Therefore with joy shall 3 ye draw water out of the wells of salvation. And in that 4 day shall ye say, Give thanks unto the LORD, call upon his name, declare his doings among the peoples, make

is on the whole more probable, because based on a more likely text than our own. The latter contains a *dw. λεγ.* which appears to be due to the corruption of a well-known Hebrew word.

CHAPTER XII.

This chapter contains an epilogue which worthily closes the brief Isaianic collection, chaps. i-xii, and follows naturally on the preceding prophecy of Israel's restoration, and like these verses (xi. 10-16) belongs to the late exilian or early post-exilian period. The fact that it belongs to a later period than Isaiah's lifetime has been recognized by most exegetes since Ewald. Duhm's analysis shows that the chapter contains *two brief songs of thanksgiving.*

(1) 1-2. After a short prosaic introduction we have a song of two verses or strophes, each containing four short lines :—

‘I praise Thee, Yahweh ;
For Thou wast angered against me,
And Thy wrath hath turned back [contrast ix. 12, &c.],
And Thou comfortest me.’

In the third line of this first strophe we have followed Cheyne in making a slight emendation. The next strophe breaks forth in confident exultation :—

‘Behold, my saving God ;
I trust, and feel no dread.’

(2) 3-6. The second song of thanksgiving, like the first, has a brief prosaic introduction, but it is poetic in conception and contains a beautiful image (verse 3). In Jer. ii. 13 we have the real clue to the interpretation of the phrase ‘wells of deliverance’ or victory. God, ‘the spring of living waters’ (with Jer. ii. 13 cf. John iv. 14), is the source from which the people will exultantly draw (cf. Ps. lxxxvii. 7). We notice that whereas in the introduction to the first thanksgiving song we have the singular,

mention that his name is exalted. Sing unto the L^OR^D ; for he hath done excellent things : let this be known in all the earth. Cry aloud and shout, thou inhabitant of Zion : for great is the Holy One of Israel in the midst of thee.

13 [R] The burden of Babylon, which Isaiah the son of Amoz did see.

we here have the plural. After this short prelude in verse 3, we have in verses 4–6 two strophes of three and four lines respectively, but the lines are longer than in the preceding song :—

Praise Yahweh, call upon His name,
Make known among the peoples His exploits,
Make mention that His name is exalted.

Chant Yahweh's praise, that He hath done splendid deeds :
Let this be proclaimed o'er all the earth.
Exult and shout aloud, inhabitants of Zion :
That great is Israel's Holy One in thy midst.'

Poetic passages of this kind are not in the style of the great prophet of the eighth century. We are reminded of the Psalms, especially Ps. cv. 1, cxlvii. 1; Exod. xv. 1, 2; and Isa. xxv. 9, xxvi. 1, xxvii. 2 (all belonging to a very late section xxiv–xxvii).

CHAPTERS XIII—XXIII. ORACLES ON FOREIGN NATIONS.

CHAPTER XIII—XIV. 23.

We now enter upon another collection. It extends from chap. xiii to chap. xxiii, and consists of a series of 'utterances' or 'oracles' directed against foreign nations, and dealing with the destiny and doom of each in succession. The series begins with an utterance against Babylonia and her king. It falls into two parts: xiii. 2–22, which describes the overthrow of Babylon, and xiv. 4^b–21, which portrays the descent of Babylon's monarch to the Lower World in a passage remarkable for the beauty of stately, weird pomp. Both portions probably came from the same author. So also verses 22, 23 which, however, seem to attach themselves more readily to the first part than to the second, since they deal with Babylon rather than Babylon's king. Between the two portions there is interpolated in xiv. 1–4^a a prosaic passage of far inferior character, altogether out of keeping with the rest of the poem, both before and after. The poem is composed in strophes of seven long lines each, or of fourteen verses if we regard each line as consisting of a longer and a shorter verse. This is the characteristic form of the Kinh measure or elegiac

[Ex.] Set ye up an ensign upon the bare mountain, lift up

metre employed in the stately funeral odes which occur, for example, in Lamentations (especially note chap. iii) and in Ezek. xix. See Budde, article 'Poetry' in Hastings' *DB.*, and his famous and epoch-making essay on 'The Hebrew Dirge' in *ZATW.*, 1882, pp. 1-52. As an example, we cite the opening lines of Lamentations :—

'Ah! how the city sitteth alone, once great in people!
She hath become like a widow great among nations!
A princess erewhile among the provinces hath become the
menial.'

According to Budde, the normal metric length of the longer verse in proportion to the shorter, which follows it, is 3 : 2¹.

First Strophe (verses 1-4). *Mustering of the nations who are to advance against Babylon.* The word here rendered 'burden' is correctly translated 'utterance' or 'oracle.' The word is here employed by the editor of this collection of Isaianic and later oracles, and it meets us again in Jer. xxiii. 33 foll.; Ezek. xii. 10. The word is employed in these redactorial headings throughout this collection of oracles against foreign nations; and it also recurs in xxx. 6. Outside Isaiah it is frequently employed in a similar manner at the opening of prophetic sections: Nah. i. 1; Hab. i. 1; Zech. ix. 1, xii. 1; and Mal. i. 1.

It was Amos, the prophet of Yahweh's universal sovereignty and justice, who was probably the first to deliver oracles denouncing doom against foreign nations (i. 3-ii. 16). His example was followed by Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, in oracles of greater length than the brief utterances of Amos.

It is quite certain from many internal indications that this oracle was not composed by Isaiah. Assyria, and not Babylonia, was the empire which was in the ascendant during the prophet's lifetime. Merodach-Baladan (in Assyrian Marduk-abal-iddin) was the ruler of Babylon at the close of the eighth century, and had to maintain a desperate struggle with varying fortunes for realm and life against successive occupants of the throne of Nineveh. It is quite clear that Babylonia and its monarch did not fill the high place in the political drama which the present oracle assigns to them. We have to advance considerably more than a century after the close of Isaiah's life before we reach the historic conditions which are in accord with those of the present chapter. Babylonia had then succeeded to the proud position once held by Assyria.

¹ Modern Arabic poetry has similar metres; see Littmann's *Neu-arabische Volkspoesie*, p. 90: cf. p. 47, 14-17. See Addenda, p. 369.

the voice unto them, wave the hand, that they may go into
 3 the gates of the nobles. I have commanded my consecrat-
 ed ones, yea, I have called my mighty men for mine anger,
 4 even my proudly exulting ones. The noise of a multitude
 in the mountains, like as of a great people ! the noise of
 a tumult of the kingdoms of the nations gathered together!

The linguistic features of these oracles clearly point to an authorship later than the age of Isaiah, though there are evident reminiscences of Isaianic phraseology to be found in it in consider-
 able number, combined with expressions that are non-
 Isaianic and later. A list of these may be found in Dillmann's
 commentary (ed. Kittel, 1898), p. 125.

We should probably not be far wrong in assigning to the section
 xiii.—xiv. 23 the date 550 B.C. (about).

The whole of the first verse is editorial. We are reminded of
 i. 1.

2. 'On the bare mountain hoist the ensign, lift up the voice to
 them,

Wave the hand, that they come into the gates of nobles.'

These words are spoken by the prophet. The standard is to be lifted and the proclamation made to the enemies of Babylon. The nobles here referred-to are the Babylonians, who regarded themselves as supreme in Western Asia. The expression 'gates of the nobles' is held by Duhm to be an allusion to Babylon (Babel), which in the original Babylonian language of the cuneiform was *Bâb-ilu*, or 'God's gateway.'

3. The construction of this verse is difficult. Duhm and Cheyne would place the Hebrew word for **for mine anger** earlier in the verse, and the former would then translate: 'I have summoned unto [the execution of] my wrath, my consecrated, my proudly exulting ones,' thereby improving metre and structure. As in Zeph. i. 7, the 'day of the Lord' is regarded as a festival. Here it is a battle-festival, and the 'consecrated ones' are Yahweh's warrior host. On war as a sacred act, in which Yahweh, the leader who goes before the host¹, participates, cf. Exod. xv. 3, xvii. 16; 2 Sam. xi. 11; Deut. xxiii. 10 foll. and article 'War' in *Enc. Bibl.* But the armies here mustered together are those of many foreign peoples (verse 4).

4. Render: 'A loud uproar in the mountains.' The mountains are those of Media, lying east of Babylonia. This was the quarter

¹ Similarly Nergal goes before Shalmaneser II (*Alik paniya*, Monolith inscription, col. ii. 96): cf. Exod. xiii. 21.

the LORD of hosts mustereth the host for the battle. They 5
come from a far country, from the uttermost part of heaven,
even the LORD, and the weapons of his indignation, to
destroy the whole land. Howl ye; for the day of the 6
LORD is at hand ; as destruction from the Almighty shall

from which the Medo-Persian foes of Babylonia, under the banner
of Cyrus, attacked the empire of Nabonidus and brought about its
overthrow in 538-6 B.C.

Second Strophe (verses 5-8). *Terror and dismay caused by the advancing hosts.* Duhm remarks that the range of vision of this exilian or post-exilian poet is wider than that of Isaiah at the close of the eighth century. This passage abounds in parallels with Joel and Jeremiah.

With verse 4 ('uproar' (noise) cf. Joel iii. (Heb. iv.) 14
'uproars' (R. V. 'multitudes')).

With verse 6 ('howl') cf. Joel i. 5, 11.

With verse 6 ('nigh is the day of Yahweh; as destructive might
of the mighty one') cf. Joel i. 15 entire, and iv. 14, also Jer. 1. 27.

With verse 8 cf. Joel ii. 6.

With verses 10, 13 cf. Joel ii. 10^b.

Opinions are much divided as to the original source of these phrases. Duhm, for example, thinks that the sentence in verse 6 may be removed, without affecting the context, more easily from the present passage than from Joel. This is, however, doubtful. The passage seems to be more appropriate in its Isaianic context than in Joel. Moreover, it is notorious that Joel's prophecies exhibit clear traces of borrowings (see Driver's *LOT.*, p. 312), and are held by most critics to be post-exilian. Similarly Jer. 1 is a later addendum (see Cornill's text in *SBOT.*), and verse 27 is an echo of verse 6 in our chapter.

6. **destruction from the Almighty** (in Heb. *Shaddai*) does not express the assonance of the original (*shôd*, *shaddai*). We might render : 'as the destructive might of the Almighty.' But it has been doubted whether there is really any etymological connexion between the two words, as many scholars formerly supposed. For the various derivations which have been proposed see *Enc. Bibl.* under 'Shaddai,' and Hastings' *DB.* under 'God,' vol. ii. p. 199. None of these can be pronounced satisfactory. We might either follow Delitzsch and connect the word with *shadû* or *shaddû* in Assyrian, meaning 'mountain,' a term applied to the Deity metaphorically in proper names (cf. Schrader, *COT.*, vol. ii. p. 326), or recur to the old explanation and connect it (as in this verse) with the Hebrew root *shâdad*, meaning to 'destroy.' This seems to fit in with Num. xxiv. 4, 16, where He

7 it come. Therefore shall all hands be feeble, and every
 8 heart of man shall melt: and they shall be dismayed;
 pangs and sorrows shall take hold of them; they shall be
 in pain as a woman in travail: they shall be amazed one
 9 at another; their faces shall be faces of flame. Behold,
 the day of the LORD cometh, cruel, with wrath and fierce
 anger; to make the land a desolation, and to destroy the
 10 sinners thereof out of it. For the stars of heaven and
 the constellations thereof shall not give their light: the
 sun shall be darkened in his going forth, and the moon
 11 shall not cause her light to shine. And I will punish the

is the 'God 'who compels a foreign soothsayer to bless Israel, and will make Israel victorious over his foes.' See Cheyne in *Enc. Brbl.* under 'Shaddai.' This writer in *Expositor*, January, 1904, holds that the Israelites worshipped their supreme God under the name Yahweh (or Yahu), after they became the guests of the Kenites: 'The name under which they had formerly worshipped the supreme God was, according to tradition, *El Shaddai*.' The historic value of the tradition it is hardly possible to determine. See Driver's *Book of Genesis*, pp. 404 foll. (Methuen).

7. The Kinah measure fails in this verse. The shorter member that follows the longer is lost. We have only the longer member preserved:—

'Therefore all hands become slack . . .

And every heart of man melts,—(verse 8) and is filled with consternation.'

8. 'Spasms and agonies seize [them]; as a woman that brings forth, they writhe.

One stares in amaze at his fellow; flaming faces are their faces.'

Third Strophe (verses 9-12). *The destruction wrought by Yahweh.*

9. Translate more idiomatically: 'making the land a desolation, destroying sinners from off it.'

10. *the constellations thereof*: better rendered 'their Orions'; cf. Amos v. 8.

his going forth is the Hebrew way of saying 'its rising.' The sun was personalized as a male deity by the ancient Semites (e.g. Babylonians and Canaanites), as by the ancient Greeks. In ancient Teutonic mythology it is feminine, while the moon is masculine. The moon was also male in Canaanite and Babylonian cults. Such personalization, however, is not apparent here.

world for *their* evil, and the wicked for their iniquity ; and I will cause the arrogance of the proud to cease, and will lay low the haughtiness of the terrible. I will make 12 a man more rare than fine gold, even a man than the pure gold of Ophir. Therefore I will make the heavens to 13 tremble, and the earth shall be shaken out of her place, in the wrath of the LORD of hosts, and in the day of his fierce anger. And it shall come to pass, that as the chased 14 roe, and as sheep that no man gathereth, they shall turn every man to his own people, and shall flee every man to his own land. Every one that is found shall be thrust 15 through; and every one that is taken shall fall by the sword. Their infants also shall be dashed in pieces before their 16 eyes ; their houses shall be spoiled, and their wives

11. *the terrible* : more correctly 'the violent,' or perhaps 'the tyrants' (Ps. xxxvii. 35).

12. The destruction of human life will be so great that human beings are regarded as precious rarities. *Ophir* (cf. Gen. x. 29) is probably to be sought on the south coast of Arabia. Formerly an attempt was made to identify it with a certain portion of the Malabar coast of India, near to Goa¹; but this is geographically too remote to be probable.

Fourth Strophe (verses 13-16). Terrible fate of the fugitives from Babylon.

13. It is doubtful whether the utterance of Yahweh is continued beyond the preceding strophe. It would be well, therefore, to adopt the reading suggested by the LXX, and not adhere to the Hebrew text on which R. V. rests. Therefore for 'I will make the heavens tremble' read 'The heavens shall tremble.'

14. For *roe* read with R. V. marg. 'gazelle,' the same word as that which occurs in the opening of David's elegy over Saul and Jonathan (2 Sam. i. 19, similarly rendered in R.V. marg.).

¹ The export of sandalwood (1 Kings ix. 28, x. 11) from Ophir gave some colour to this theory of Bochart and Reland and, since their day, of the late Bishop Caldwell of Tinnevelly. Canon Driver is inclined to favour its identification with either the mouth of the Indus or some port east or south-east of Arabia, (Book of Genesis, p. 131, footnote 4).

17 ravished. Behold, I will stir up the Medes against them, which shall not regard silver, and as for gold, they shall

Fifth Strophe (verses 17-19). Destruction wrought on Babylon by the Medes. The brevity of this strophe is due to serious mutilation, especially in verses 17, 18, portions of which are lost.

The Medes in reality divided with the Babylonians the heritage of Assyria. Nabopolassar in his struggle with Assyria was supported by the Medes. Nineveh was captured by their aid. During the reign of the greatest Babylonian monarch of the new empire, Nebuchadnezzar, there was peace and harmony between the Babylonians and the Medes. The reason for this close bond of union between Media and Babylonia is not far to seek. It was due to political exigencies. Babylonia was secure only as long as she remained in friendship with her energetic and restless Indo-Germanic neighbour. For recent investigations make it clear that since the ninth century Indo-Germanic races were pouring into Asia Minor, and that the Medians (in the latter part of the seventh century and the earlier part of the sixth) were certainly Indo-Germanic. In the reign of the last Babylonian king, Nabonidus (*Nabû-nâ'id*), the race ruled by the Median king Astyages (*Ištuvî(mi)gu*) was called *Ummān-manda* (see cylinder from Abu-Habba, col. i. l. 32), a term which Fried. Delitzsch in his Assyrian Dictionary interprets as meaning 'a horde of peoples.' These hordes would be mainly Scythians, who came swooping down upon Media in the days of Cyaxares the predecessor of Astyages. These barbaric hordes, as we learn from the Abu-Habba cylinder, were easily dispersed by Cyrus king of Anzân (col. i. ll. 29 foll.)¹, who thus obtained possession of the whole of Media. This conquest we may place about 553 B.C. The term *Anzân* or *Anshân* included Media as well as Elam. It is true that Cyrus is also called (in the Chronicle of Nabonidus and Cyrus) 'king of the land *Parsu*' or Persia; but Persia in those days was only a portion of Media independent of Astyages. Cyrus was better known as king of *Anzân* or Media, and it was with the hosts of Media, probably of varied races—but chiefly Indo-Germanic—that Cyrus conquered Babylon in 539-8 B.C. The Persians were likewise Indo-Germanic, and for a long time to come the name of the Persians, to whom Cyrus belonged, was overshadowed by that of the Medes. This is especially true in the case of Greek writers.

¹ Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. iii. pt. ii. p. 98. The capture of Babylon is described in the Cyrus cylinder, transcribed and translated by Schrader in the *Keilinsch. Bibl.*, *ibid.*, p. 120 foll., and also by Hagen in Delitzsch and Haupt's *Beiträge zur Assyriol.*, vol. ii. heft i. p. 208 foll.

not delight in it. And *their* bows shall dash the young 18 men in pieces ; and they shall have no pity on the fruit of the womb ; their eye shall not spare children. And 19 Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldeans' pride, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah. It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it 20 be dwelt in from generation to generation : neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there ; neither shall shepherds

In Dan. vi. 8, 12 ; Esther i. 29, Medes and Persians are combined. See Sayce's article in Hastings' *DB*. 'Media,' and also Winckler's remarks in *KAT.*², p. 100 foll. Especially clear and instructive is the article 'Medien' by Alfred Jeremias in *PRE.*³

17. Duhm thinks that the word *Elam* has fallen out of the text after *Medes* (*Media*). It is more probable that it fell out before the word 'Medes,' owing to its resemblance to the preceding word in the original 'aléhem ('against them'). But even with this addition, it is doubtful whether we have a complete verse. The expression 'regard not silver, and take no pleasure in gold' may refer to the inexorable character of the destruction which will be wrought in Babylon. Treasures of art, however costly, will not be spared. Or it may refer to the implacable character of the Median soldiery, who cannot be bought off by silver or gold.

18. Probably Duhm is right in holding that we have at the beginning of this verse only fragments of two lost verses. Jer. i and li contain echoes of this beautiful poem. With the aid of Jer. li. 22 Marti conjecturally restores the second line : 'And all young men they will dash in pieces, and maidens shall be beaten to death.' The first line evidently has only one word 'bows.' As the present Hebrew text stands, rendered in the R.V. 'And bows dash their young men in pieces,' we have an unintelligible statement. It is only clubs or iron maces (the *shebhet* of Ps. ii. 8) or the hammer of Jer. li. 20 that could accomplish such brutal work.

19. Babylon, 'the proud splendour of the Chaldeans,' shall suffer overthrow at God's hand like Sodom and Gomorrah. These cities of the Dead Sea were the constantly chosen examples employed in prophetic warning. 'Like Sodom and Gomorrah' became a proverb : cf. Isa. i. 9.

Sixth Strophe (verses 20-22). *Babylon becomes a ruined and lonely spot, demon-haunted.*

20. Once more we meet with echoes of this poem in Jer. l. 39, 40. The wandering nomad or Arab *Bedawi* shuns the spot haunted by animal-demon shapes or *jinn* (as the Arabs call them).

21 make their flocks to lie down there. But wild beasts of the desert shall lie there ; and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures; and ostriches shall dwell there, and
 22 satyrs shall dance there. And wolves shall cry in their castles, and jackals in the pleasant palaces : and her time is near to come, and her days shall not be prolonged.

14 [R] For the LORD will have compassion on Jacob, and will

'In fact the earth may be said to be parcelled out between demons and wild beasts on the one hand, and gods and men on the other. To the former belong the untraversed wilderness with all its unknown perils, the wastes and jungles that lie outside the familiar tracks and pasture-grounds of the tribe, and which only the boldest men venture upon without terror ; to the latter belong the regions that man knows and habitually frequents' (W. R. Smith, *Rel. of the Semites*³, p. 121). To the latter category belongs all God's holy mountain, in fact the whole earth in the ideal future contemplated in Isa. xi. 1-9. See article 'Demon' in Hastings' *DB.*, vol. i. pp. 590-1, and 'Magic' *ibid.* vol. ii. p. 208 (right-hand col.).

21. By the **wild beasts of the desert** we should probably understand '*wild cats*,' which the Arabs call by almost the same name as we find here in the Hebrew. The **doleful creatures** or howlers may mean 'jackals,' though this is far from certain. The Hebrew word for the goat-shaped satyr probably means 'hairy one.' Wellhausen in his *Reste des Arabischen Heidentums*² (*Remains of Arabic Heathendom*), pp. 149, 151 foll., compares the *Ifrit* of the Korân and *The Thousand and One Nights*. But it is doubtful whether his etymology of the Arabic word is the real one ; see article 'Demon' in Hastings' *DB.*, p. 590, footnote.

22. The word rendered **wolves** should be translated 'jackals' (perhaps hyenas). The word rendered **jackals** in the following clause in R. V. should probably be rendered 'wolves.' These howl as the satyrs dance in the ruined palatial halls¹ where the Babylonians once lived in luxurious ease.

shall not be prolonged : i. e. before God's visitation of judgment comes.

CHAPTER XIV.

1-4. Editorial prose breaks into the stately rhythm of the *Kinah measure*. We here have post-exilian philosophy of history prefixed to the lament over the downfall and death of the king of Babylon. Perhaps there was a gap in the text created by its

¹ It seems necessary to read here *aemendōth* instead of *almenōth*.

yet choose Israel, and set them in their own land: and the stranger shall join himself with them, and they shall cleave to the house of Jacob. And the peoples shall take them, and bring them to their place: and the house of Israel shall possess them in the land of the LORD for servants and for handmaids: and they shall take them captive, whose captives they were; and they shall rule over their oppressors.

And it shall come to pass in the day that the LORD shall give thee rest from thy sorrow, and from thy trouble, and from the hard service wherein thou wast made to serve, that thou shalt take up this parable against the king of

mutilated condition, evident traces of which we have already noticed in the earlier part of the poem, xiii. 2-22. The interpolation by the post-exilian editor serves to connect the two parts xiii. 2-22 and xiv. 4^b-21 together.

1-2. God's motive in the overthrow of Babylon by His servant Cyrus (cf. xlvi. 1, 4) was His gracious purpose of compassion on Jacob. Proselytes from other nations will join Israel, and foreign peoples (evidently meaning Medes and Persians under Cyrus) will enable Israel to achieve domination over their former oppressors.

The word **stranger** here is employed in the sense of 'foreign proselyte,' not of 'sojourner from another tribe' as in earlier literature, cf. Judges xvii. 8 (Stade, *Gesch. Israels*, i. p. 400). See Cheyne's *Introduction to Isaiah* (1895), pp. 74, 312; and Geiger, *Urschrift u. Uebersetzung der Bibel*, p. 353.

3-4^a. Translate 'from thy agony and distraction.' The **hard service** is a literary echo from Exod. i. 14 (Priestercodex). For **parable** read, with Kittel and Skinner, 'taunt-song.' The ordinary meaning of Heb. *mâshâl* is 'parable' or 'proverb.' But the word acquired also the special sense of 'taunt-song' in Num. xxi. 27; Hab. ii. 6.

This taunt-song is in the same elegiac or *Kinah* measure as the strain which preceded. Verses 4^b-21 contain five strophes of seven long verses, each consisting of a longer and shorter line. The main theme is the descent of the king of Babylon to Hades.

First Strophe (verses 4^b-8). *Joy of the whole world at the overthrow of the oppressor.*

4^b. The LXX read *marhebah* instead of the unintelligible *madhebah* of our text (rendered *golden city*, a mere conjecture).

Babylon, and say, [Ex.] How hath the oppressor ceased !
 5 the golden city ceased ! The L ORD hath broken the staff
 6 of the wicked, the sceptre of the rulers ; that smote the
 peoples in wrath with a continual stroke, that ruled the
 nations in anger, with a persecution that none restrained.
 7 The whole earth is at rest, *and* is quiet : they break forth
 8 into singing. Yea, the fir trees rejoice at thee, *and* the
 cedars of Lebanon, *saying*, Since thou art laid down, no
 9 feller is come up against us. Hell from beneath is moved

From earliest times the characters for *d* and *r* have been very similar. Many commentators have followed the LXX. Translate therefore :—

‘O how has the oppressor become still—still the turmoil !’

5. The word for *hath broken* (*shābar*) seems to be purposely chosen on account of its assonance with the word for ‘hath ceased’ (or ‘become still,’ *shābath*) in the preceding verse.

6. The LXX again come to our aid, and with most critics (Gesenius, Hitzig, Ewald, Duhm, Cheyne, Marti) we should read *mirdath* for *murdaph* (*persecution*), and thus secure more symmetry of expression. Render therefore : ‘subjugating nations in wrath—with subjugation unrestrained.’

7. The earth has a respite, now that the world’s despot is dead, and breaks forth into exulting strains.

8. The trees unite in the common exultation. The Assyrian monarchs were great lovers of horticulture, and adorned their parks with the rare trees and plants of the lands which they conquered from the days of Tiglath-Pileser I downwards. The Babylonian monarchs indulged in the same taste (see article ‘Garden’ in *Enc. Bibl.*). Cedar-trees are constantly mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions, and were employed in building. For *fir trees* substitute ‘cypresses.’ These shall now be left in their home-land.

Second Strophe (verses 9-11). *Excitement in the Lower World at the advent of the Babylonian monarch.* Such a conception of Hades as we find in the following verses would hardly have been possible in pre-exilian days, and shows clear traces of the influences of the Babylonian environment of the Exile. For we have here a far more developed description of Hades than existed in the earlier literature. Compare the *Descent of Ishtar to Hades*, one of the *series in KIB.*, vol. vi (Jensen), with its portrayal of Hades and its seven encircling walls and gates.

for thee to meet thee at thy coming : it stirreth up the dead for thee, even all the chief ones of the earth ; it hath raised up from their thrones all the kings of the nations. All they shall answer and say unto thee, Art thou also to become weak as we ? art thou become like unto us ? Thy pomp is brought down to hell, and the noise of thy viols : the worm is spread under thee, and worms cover thee. How art thou fallen from heaven, O day star, son of the

9. ' Hades beneath is in excitement at thee—to greet thine arrival :

Arousing¹ shades at thy coming—all chieftains of the earth ; Making to rise from their seats—all the kings of the nations.'

10. Translate by present tenses, since we have here vivid examples of what Driver calls the 'dramatic imperfect.' 'They all answer . . . and say.' The first portion of the line is rhythmically too short for the elegiac measure. A word (or two) seems to have dropped out. For *hell* throughout these verses and in the O. T. universally 'Hades' (Heb. *Sheôl*) or the 'under-world' should be read. Of *Hell* in the N. T. sense, as the abode of fire and retributive punishment for the wicked, we have no trace in O. T. literature, but only such germinal suggestive passages as the reference to Gê-Hinnôm (or the valley of Hinnôm, with its ancient rites of Moloch) occurring in Isa. lxvi. 24. Of the life after death very little is said and but little suggested in the O. T. We only know of Hades as a pale shadowy world of spirits who continue to exist and in individual cases may be unlawfully (according to the Hebrew codes of legislation) summoned forth by the arts of the necromancer. On this subject consult Charles, *Eschatology*, pp. 33-50 ; on Pss. xlix. and lxxiii. p. 73 foll.

Third Strophe (verses 12-15). *Ambition and its fall.*

Verses 12-14. See Gunkel, *Schöpfung u. Chaos*, p. 132 foll.². The

¹ The participle in this and the following verse represents the absolute infinite, which form ought in both these examples to be restored to the Hebrew text (Mart).

² The entire section devoted to verses 12-14, in Gunkel's stimulating pages, is useful by drawing our attention to mythical aspects and parallels. He is not disposed, however, to find a Babylonian source for the reference to Hêlâl (Lucifer) in verse 12, which might be Phoenician in origin. His attempt to reconstruct the last clause of verse 12 into 'liest stiff upon corpses' cannot be accepted.

morning! how art thou cut down to the ground, which
 13 didst lay low the nations! And thou saidst in thine heart,
 I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above
 the stars of God; and I will sit upon the mount of
 14 congregation, in the uttermost parts of the north: I will
 ascend above the heights of the clouds; I will be like the

reigning monarch of Babylon at the time when this poem was composed was Nabonidus (or Nabunāid), by no means a strong ruler or a tyrannical despot. The features of the portraiture rather correspond with those of Nebuchadnezzar (Nebuchadrezzar) than with those of the reigning king when Babylonia was overthrown by Cyrus. Accordingly we are justified in regarding this portrayal of 'Lucifer son of Aurora' as that of a monarch as deified representative of Babylonia itself¹. Winckler attempts without avail to vindicate Nabonidus' martial character, *KAT.*², i. p. 110 foll.; *Altoriental. Forsch.*, second series, vol. ii. (xi.) p. 200 foll.

12. With respect to this comparison of a monarch with a star cf. Num. xxiv. 17; Rev. xxii. 16. Schrader compares the Assyrian *mūštilil*, 'glitterer,' epithet of Ishtar, *COT.*, ii. p. 79. Probably (following the hint of the LXX) we should render: 'overpowering all nations.'

13. We are touching here old Semitic conceptions. The **throne above the stars of God** stands within the realm *above the firmament* in which the stars were placed. See article 'Cosmogony' in Hastings' *DB.*, and Bennett's *Genesis* (Century Bible), pp. 66 foll.: cf. Gen. i. 14, 17; Ps. civ. 3; Job xxii. 14. Also the 'mountain of assembly' (*mount of congregation*) in the extreme north was a mythological conception of a Divine mountain of assembly, or Olympus of the gods, situated in the far north. Analogous ideas are to be found among the Indians and Persians. Cf. Ezek. xxviii. 14 and Ps. xlvi. 3, where the glory of such a Divine mount is ascribed to Zion. Among the Babylonians there prevailed a vivid tradition of such a mountain which was called *Arālū*. Schrader, *COT.*, ii. p. 79 foll.: cf. Jensen, *Cosmologie*, pp. 201-8 on the negative side.

¹ This was the more easy as Babylonian and Assyrian monarchs represented themselves as the sons or favourites of national deities. Cf. the opening of Ašurbanipal's inscription (Rassam cylinder, l. 1): cf. Schrader, *COT.*, i. p. 147; and the proper names Naram-Sin, *Marduk-abal-iddin* (Merodach-Baladan), meaning 'favourite of Sin,' 'Merodach has bestowed a son'; comp. Ps. ii. 7.

Most High. Yet thou shalt be brought down to hell, to 15
 the uttermost parts of the pit. They that see thee shall 16
 narrowly look upon thee, they shall consider thee, *saying*,
 Is this the man that made the earth to tremble, that did
 shake kingdoms; that made the world as a wilderness, 17
 and overthrew the cities thereof, that let not loose his
 prisoners to their home? All the kings of the nations, all 18
 of them, sleep in glory, every one in his own house. But 19
 thou art cast forth away from thy sepulchre like an
 abominable branch, clothed with the slain, that are thrust
 through with the sword, that go down to the stones of the
 pit; as a carcase trodden under foot. Thou shalt not be 20
 joined with them in burial, because thou hast destroyed

15. The *pit* (Heb. *bôr*) is here the equivalent of *Sheôl* or Hades.

Fourth Strophe (verses 16-19). *Amazement of those who behold the Downfall.*

16. Note the ascending climax: 'Those that *see* thee, *gaze* on thee—*take note* of thee.' Here again we should render by present tenses, not future.

17. The first clause should be united with the last of the preceding verse, and not be made into a separate sentence. Render (with Duhm):—

'His prisoners he set not free to their home—kings all of nations,

They all rest in glory—each in his house.'

The *house* here, of course, means the stately sepulchre richly adorned: cf. 1 Kings ii. 10, 34; 1 Sam. xxv. 1, xxviii. 3; Ezek. xliv. 7 foll.

18. In contrast with those who receive stately burial, it is the fate of the Babylonian monarch to be bereft of this honour. The text here is extremely uncertain. *away from thy sepulchre* can only mean: 'far away from the sepulchre which is due to thy rank as monarch.' (The A. V. 'out of thy grave' is impossible.) The Babylonian monarch lies amid the heaps of slain which seem to clothe him like a garment.

Fifth Strophe (verses 20, foll.). It is difficult to find any certain beginning or end to this concluding strophe. Duhm and Cheyne attempt to reconstruct the mutilated commencement out of por-

thy land, thou hast slain thy people; the seed of evil-doers
 21 shall not be named for ever. Prepare ye slaughter for his children for the iniquity of their fathers ; that they rise not up, and possess the earth, and fill the face of the world
 22 with cities. And I will rise up against them, saith the LORD of hosts, and cut off from Babylon name and

tions of verse 19, leaving gaps where portions of lines are irrecoverably lost. But the results are highly conjectural, and need not be placed before the reader.

20. It is hardly possible to derive any intelligible meaning out of the text as it stands. The preceding verse clearly states that the Babylonian monarch's body was cast forth among the slaughtered multitudes upon the battle-field without the due rites of sepulture. Those who were 'thrust through with the sword' were unburied as well as he. But this verse apparently states that *they* were buried but he was not. This, however, is clearly not meant by verse 19. Now when we examine the first line in the original we can see that it is too short for the proper elegiac measure. Evidently a word has dropped out, and Duhm is probably right in supplying the Hebrew word *abôthêcha* at the beginning of the line, which thus becomes an emphatic *accusativus pendens* :—

'E'en with thy fathers thou art not united—in burial.'

To be 'gathered to one's fathers' in Hades and in burial was the desire of every Hebrew.

21. The word rendered **slaughter** (*maṭbâlî*) may also mean 'place of slaughter' (as R. V. marg.) 'or instrument of slaughter.' The verb from which the Hebrew substantive is derived means properly the slaughter of animals (*trucidare*). The word **cities** is evidently redundant, since it makes the short line of the Kînah verse too long. It has apparently been added by a gloss writer, who wished to make the meaning more definite. Render therefore :—

'That they arise not and possess the earth—and fill the face of the world.'

The 'taunt-song' over the fallen monarch and realm closes here.

Verses 22-23 might be regarded as a pendant to chap. xiii rather than to xiv. 4-21. But it can scarcely come from the same hand as the poem in chap. xiii, though the subject is the same, viz. Babylon's downfall. The expression 'saith Yahweh,' so frequently found in Jeremiah and occasionally in other prophetic portions of O. T. literature, occurs twice here and not in the preceding poems at all. Moreover, the poetic rhythm is not so well maintained.

22. The writer is fond of alliterations: 'I will cut off from

remnant, and son and son's son, saith the LORD. I will also make it a possession for the porcupine, and pools of water : and I will sweep it with the besom of destruction, saith the LORD of hosts.

[I] The LORD of hosts hath sworn, saying, Surely as I have thought, so shall it come to pass ; and as I have purposed, so shall it stand : that I will break the Assyrian in my land, and upon my mountains tread him under foot : then shall his yoke depart from off them, and his burden depart from off their shoulder. This is the purpose that is purposed upon the whole earth : and this is the hand that is stretched out upon all the nations. For the LORD of

Babylon renown and remnant, scion and seed' fairly represents the original in its assonances.

23. It is impossible to be certain as to the rendering of the Hebrew *Kippôd*. The versions LXX and Vulgate incline us to render with R. V. *porcupine* or '*hedgehog*.' But the translation of A. V. '*bittern*' is better suited to the marsh-lands of Babylonia, to which this verse makes express reference. The lowlands of Babylonia surrounding the Euphrates were subject to floods, and after the destruction of the city and surrounding towns by the foreign foe, the canals and watercourses would become neglected and incapable of carrying off the overflow. These lands would be naturally much frequented by waterfowl.

Verses 24-27 contain an undoubtedly genuine fragment of one of Isaiah's oracles. We are transported back to the close of the eighth century and the Assyrian supremacy. The words are evidently directed against Assyria, and we are immediately reminded of x. 5-15. Cheyne indeed, with whom Kittel is disposed to agree, would regard it as a continuation of that prophecy. For the underlying conception is obviously the same, viz. that Yahweh will destroy the pride and oppressive might of Assyria, and so remove the yoke on the shoulders of Judah.

25. *then shall his yoke*, &c. There is no sufficient reason to regard (with Duhm) the last two parallel clauses of this verse as a later insertion borrowed from x. 27. The style and phraseology are Isaianic, and we are reminded of ix. 4 as well as x. 27.

27. Again we have Isaianic ideas and phraseology. The '*stretched-out hand*', with which we were familiar in the refrain

hosts hath purposed, and who shall disannul it? and his hand is stretched out, and who shall turn it back?

28 [R] In the year that king Ahaz died was this burden.

to the oracle delivered against Ephraim (ix. 11, 16, &c.), is here directed against Assyria.

This and the preceding verses show that Isaiah contemplated an impending world-judgment. This is held by Marti to be a clear indication, combined with other points strange to Isaiah, that this entire section (verses 24-27) was not composed by the prophet. These other features foreign to Isaiah are (1) that the mountains of Canaan should be the scene of the world-judgment; (2) the expression 'my mountains' is characteristic of a later period. Thus Palestine is called in Ezek. xxxix. 2 foll., and 'my mountains' meets us again in Isa. lxi. 9 : cf. Zech. xiv. 5. These arguments are very far from convincing. The conception of Canaan as Yahweh's land was a very old tradition of Semitic as well as Hebrew life, and we know that in the ninth century the Syrians, during their unsuccessful wars with Ahab, believed that Yahweh was god of the mountains. Lastly, it is surely putting too severe a limit on the range of Isaiah's thought to assume, as Marti does, that the prophet only thought of a judgment on Israel and Judah as preparation for the saving of His people, and not of a judgment on the world. In fact this is an arbitrary and artificial restriction. Chap. x. 5 foll., which Marti recognizes as Isaianic in his commentary, show that Isaiah included in his eschatological scheme a Divine judgment on Assur. But Assyria was in the prophet's time a great world-power, and a Divine judgment on foreign nations would be a natural accompaniment or sequel of God's judgment on Assyria. Moreover, we must not exaggerate the geographical extent of Isaiah's world. Its confines did not extend much beyond the borders of Western Asia, including the southern portion of Asia Minor, and Egypt also, i. e. the full extent of Assyria's empire in the days of Ashurbanipal. 'The purpose that is purposed upon the whole earth' in the days of Isaiah must be estimated in accordance with the historic conditions and intellectual horizons of the age in which that prophet lived.

Verses 28-32. *Oracle against Philistia.* The poem consists of four short strophes each, included respectively in verses 29, 30, 31, 32. We may at the outset dismiss from detailed consideration the theory of Duhm that this brief oracle was composed about 330 B.C. and can be 'most easily explained by reference to the situation of Palestine after the battle of Issos and the capture of Tyre and Gaza by Alexander.' Later on we shall have reason to

[I] Rejoice not, O Philistia, all of thee, because the rod 29

show that individual passages even in chaps. i-xxxix may be referred to a period certainly as late and lying well within the Greek period, and the same critical theory serves best to explain the phenomena of the Deutero-Zechariah (chaps. ix-xiv), though pre-exilian prophetic material undoubtedly lies buried in those later chapters of Zechariah. But in the present instance there is nothing either in the language or contents of the brief section which should dispose us to depart so far from the tradition of the editorial superscription. The oracle bears the appearance of being Isaianic, and can be fairly well explained from the political situation of his lifetime. According to Winckler (*Alltestamentliche Untersuch.*, p. 135 foll.) this introductory formula, like that of vi. 1 (q. v.), was not late in redaction, but ancient. For it is evident from this and other examples (Amos i. 1; Jer. xlvi. 1) that the pre-exilian Hebrews dated from special events. After the Exile the Hebrews, like the Babylonians (after 1500 B.C.), dated from the years of a king's reign. Here therefore, as in Isa. vi. 1, we have good reason to treat the superscription with respect. Now what is the date of the death of Ahaz according to Winckler? He fixes the date in 720-19 B.C. We might then regard Ahaz as the 'staff that is broken' which formerly smote the Philistines (viz. in the Syro-Ephraimite war), and Sargon is the 'fiery flying serpent' or winged *Sārāf* who attacked the Philistine cities at a subsequent time¹. This date for the death of Ahaz certainly does explain the statement of 2 Kings xvi. 2 that he reigned sixteen years. For 736-5 B.C. is the most probable date for his accession. The difficulties which such a date for his death has to encounter are no doubt formidable. For example, it entirely fails to explain 2 Kings xviii. 13, in which the year of Sennacherib's invasion (701 B.C.) is said to be the fourteenth of Hezekiah's reign, i.e. fourteen years after the death of Ahaz. For reasons which we have stated in another place (see Introduction, pp. 20-25), we regard the year 715 B.C. as the most probable date for that event. The explanations will then remain the same, Ahaz being the rod that smote Philistia, and Sargon, whose personality had become thoroughly familiar, the flying *Sārāf* whose might was felt in

¹ This interpretation of the oracle is not adopted by Winckler, *ibid.* The 'broken mace' or 'rod' was Sargon or the Assyrian power. Sargon at this time became involved in a struggle with Merodach-Baladan king of Babylon, and sustained a defeat at the hands of Humbanigash king of Elam, ally of Merodach-Baladan. The embassy of Merodach-Baladan to Hezekiah at the opening of the reign of the latter (720 B.C.) he accordingly places at this date. Respecting the improbability of this view see *Introd.* p. 30 foll., *footn.*

that smote thee is broken : for out of the serpent's root shall come forth a basilisk, and his fruit shall be a fiery

711 b. c. by Ashdod and other Philistine towns. *COT.*, ii. pp. 87-91.

If, on the other hand, we follow Cheyne's earlier view (1884) and reject the authority of the superscription, we might place the oracle in 705 b. c. when Sargon died, who was the rod or mace that had smitten Philistia (cf. the same metaphor in x. 5), and Sennacherib his destructive successor was to descend upon Philistia as the 'fiery winged serpent.' Such was the view of Robertson Smith, *Prophets of Israel*, p. 319.

What, however, renders this last historical interpretation of the passage, on the whole, more probable than those which precede, is the doubtful reference of the metaphor of a smiting mace or rod to Ahaz. We have no definite historic proof that Ahaz, whose military prowess did not stand high, ever inflicted chastisement on the Philistines, though the indications of the Taylor cylinder of Sennacherib point to the conclusion that Judah exercised a certain control over the Philistine towns (e.g. Ekron) in the days of Hezekiah, but this does not afford us any adequate presumption that Ahaz ever inflicted condign chastisement on Philistia.

We have still left unconsidered yet another view. This is based on the chronology which regards 726 or thereabouts as the death-year of Ahaz ; and with this date or a year previously coincided the death of Tiglath-Pileser III. But there are strong grounds for rejecting this view. It is, of course, quite true that in the years 734 foll. a series of expeditions were carried out by the armies of Tiglath-Pileser against the Syrian and Palestinian States, and the Canon of Rulers records a campaign against *Pilista* for that year. We also know from the mutilated annals of Tiglath-Pileser that not only Pe^kah but Hanno (Hanunu) of Gaza was involved in this overthrow. Hanno fled to Egypt (or more probably, as Winckler has taught us, to the land Mu^sri in North Arabia, bordering on Edom). See iii Rawl. 10. 2 ll. 19 foll.; and Schrader, *KIB.*, vol. ii. p. 30. Yet, while Tiglath-Pileser might have deserved the designation *rod* or 'mace,' we are confronted by very serious objections to so early a date as 727-6 for this prophecy. (1) It is hardly possible, in the light of the other Isaianic utterances of this period in the reign of Ahaz (chaps. iii, v, vii, viii) that Zion would have been described as a sure retreat founded by God for the abased and the poor (verse 30). (2) It is very improbable that Ahaz was not reigning at the time of Samaria's downfall. The two years' siege of Ephraim's capital can hardly have been maintained unless a monarch known to be friendly to Assyria were reigning in Judah. (3) It is extremely doubtful who could

flying serpent. And the firstborn of the poor shall feed, 30
and the needy shall lie down in safety : and I will kill thy

have been intended by the prophet in 726 B.C. under the expression 'fiery winged serpent.' Tiglath-Pileser's successor Shalmaneser hardly merits the title.

28. For *burden* in this superscription render with R.V. marg. 'oracle' (or 'utterance'). See note on xiii. 1.

29. Each verse is now a strophe or stanza of four short lines. We have a curious mixture of metaphors. The root suggests the vegetable kingdom, but the serpent and the 'basilisk,' as well as the flying *Sārāf* or winged burning snake, all belong to the animal kingdom. It is impossible to identify all the details of the elaborated simile. From the introductory remarks to this oracle given above we should probably understand the serpent-root of the adder or basilisk-brood to be Assyria. Philistia has no cause to exult at the death of Sargon, who smote Ashdod and other cities so heavily in 711 B.C. In place of Sargon a worse enemy would ultimately arise and swoop down upon them like a winged *Sārāf*. On the *Sārāf* (Eng. 'seraph') cf. Isa. vi. 3.

30. *firstborn of the poor* would mean the 'poorest of the poor,' just as in Job xviii. 13 the 'firstborn of death' means the most evil or deadly pestilence. The expression, however, is a strange one, and critics have therefore been busy with their emendations. Thus Koppe, Hupfeld, and Ewald would make an alteration in punctuation only, and read 'on my meadow' (or, reading the form as a plural, 'on my meadows'). So also Duhm. Cheyne, on the other hand, has ingeniously suggested a slight alteration of the text, and renders 'on my mountains,' which suits the geographical configuration of Judah and especially of Zion. Cf. above, verse 25. On the whole we prefer the latter emendation, which accords with the special reference to Zion in the concluding strophe of the poem. Accordingly render :—

'And the abased shall pasture on my mountains,
And the poor shall lie in safety :
Yet I will slay with famine thy seed,
And thy remnant shall one kill.'

Who are the 'poor' and the 'abased'? Duhm and Marti answer that the Jews are meant, or humble followers of Yahweh, as we find in numerous Psalms. These parallels, however, belong to later literature, and here we have to deal with what is Isajanic. That Jews were included is undoubtedly true, but the prophet is addressing the Philistines, and he is including them also. In other words, the oracle has a political significance. It was composed soon after 705, and is an exhortation to the Philistines not to rejoice prematurely at Sargon's death. Another and more

31 root with famine, and thy remnant shall be slain. Howl, O gate; cry, O city; thou art melted away, O Philistia, all of thee; for there cometh a smoke out of the north, 32 and none standeth aloof at his appointed times. What then shall one answer the messengers of the nation? That the LORD hath founded Zion, and in her shall the afflicted of his people take refuge.

midable foe will arise from the same Assyrian viper-brood. Destruction will come upon Philistia, but there is a refuge for the poor and distressed in Yahweh's mountain-stronghold, viz. Zion. It is a message to Philistia to ally itself with Judah before the storm breaks. The Taylor cylinder of Sennacherib¹ (col. ii. 69 foll.) would lead us to conclude that this exhortation was not unheeded. See *Excursus*, p. 370.

31. For **thou art melted away** read 'Be melted away,' i. e. 'faint with terror.' The Hebrew word *nāmōg* is an absolute infinitive with imperative force. The foe from the north is obviously the Assyrian army, and this route by the Palestinian coast was precisely that which Sennacherib's Taylor cylinder shows that Assyria actually took in 701 B.C. The reasons for the choice of this route are the comparative fertility of this region, which was therefore capable of supporting an army (see article 'War' in *Enc. Bibl.*). The **smoke** is not so much the smoke of camp-fires as of burning villages (note the frequent recurrence of the word *ashrup*, 'I burnt,' in Assyrian inscriptions).

Translate: 'none standeth apart in his ranks'; 'his' refers to the enemy who has no lonely straggler. All move together as a disciplined host. So R.V. marg. and nearly all modern expositors. We have a close and highly elaborated parallel in the earlier oracle of Isaiah (chap. v. 27 foll.).

32. The opening lines of this last strophe seem to be defective. We should probably render, with Duhm (supplying the missing word in the first line):—

'And what shall [my people] answer
The messenger of the nation . . . ?'

Under the pressure of impending fear deputies come to Hezekiah from the Philistine towns. Isaiah frames the reply which Judah shall make: Trust in Yahweh who hath founded Zion (cf. Ps. xlvi).

¹ Plainly showing that Philistia leaned upon Hezekiah. The feature which exhibits this in the clearest light is the loyal attitude towards Judah exhibited by the inhabitants of Ekron in handing over to Hezekiah Padi, the Assyrian puppet.

[R] The burden of Moab.

[Pre-I] For in a night Ar of Moab is laid waste, and

CHAPTERS XV AND XVI. [Note Pre-I means Pre-Isaianic].

Oracles on the Doom of Moab. Profoundly interesting problems present themselves in these chapters. The general contents may be summarized thus: xv. 1-4. In the night the chief towns of Moab have been overpowered and destroyed, and there reign universal consternation and sorrow. 5-9. The luckless inhabitants flee with wailing and lamentation from their desolated land, the names of various spots in Moab being mentioned. They carry their possessions with them over the Willow-brook. Indeed, further terrors and slaughter await them. xvi. 1-6. In their desperation an appeal is made to Judah, in which Edom (Sela) also unites, seeking shelter from the foe. They appeal against cruelty and wrong to the throne of David, to its righteousness and mercy. But Judah's answer recalls Moab's arrogance and pride, and is a disheartening refusal of help.

xvi. 7-12. And so the lament is renewed over the hopelessness of Moab's lot, and over the ruined glory of the products of its vineyards and orchards. The joy of the vintage ceases. Verses 13, 14 are an apparent addition by either an editor or Isaiah himself, stating that this is an old oracle against Moab, and concluding with a prophecy that in three years all the glory of Moab will have shrunk to insignificance.

We have thus a double problem to solve, viz. (1) the authorship and approximate date of the addendum; and (2) age and authorship of the oracle on Moab. (1) Nearly all critics are agreed that the writer of the addendum was the prophet Isaiah. There is certainly nothing in the phraseology which is not Isaianic. We may therefore regard it as exceedingly probable that Isaiah was the author of this conclusion. (2) With respect to the still earlier oracle against Moab, it has been wellnigh universally held not to be the composition of Isaiah himself. This can be easily demonstrated by a detailed examination of the Hebrew. Though a few expressions in xvi. 1-6 (e.g. 'daughter of Zion') are also to be met with in Isaiah's oracles, a far larger number in the entire oracle xv., xvi. 1-12 are strange to the diction of Isaiah. A list of these may be found in Dillmann-Kittel's commentary, where the discussion of the problem is clear and full.

Who then was the author, and at what time was the oracle written? With reference to the latter question the following data (set forth in the commentary of Dillmann-Kittel) should first be noted: (a) since the flight of the Moabites was in a southerly direction towards Edom, the enemy evidently came from the

brought to nought; for in a night Kir of Moab is laid waste,

north; (*b*) Judah was at that time considered to be in a position to afford adequate protection to the fugitives from the desolated country; (*c*) the territory of Moab, at that time extending north of the Arnon, included the tribe of Reuben and portions of Gad. Now the conditions (*a*) and also in a negative sense (*c*) are in harmony with the hypothesis that the Assyrians were the foe who overwhelmed Moab. But against such a view the consideration (*b*) is fatal. For in the Assyrian documents no mention of Moab as tributary is to be found till the year 732 in Tiglath-Pileser's reign, and if he be regarded as the conqueror of Moab, it is very difficult to see how Ahaz, who was the complacent vassal of the Assyrian at that time, could have rendered any effective protection to Moab. Yet this is assumed in xvi. 1-5.

Accordingly we are led to look favourably on the view of Hitzig, who held that the enemy of Moab, to which the oracle refers, was Israel or the northern kingdom in the days of Jeroboam II. The power of Assyria during that interval 780-750 became for a time quiescent, while the kingdom of Syria (Aram) had not recovered from the overwhelming defeat inflicted by Rammān-nirārī III, king of Assyria, in 803 b. c. This paralysis of Syria, the hereditary foe of Israel, enabled the latter under the energetic rule of Jeroboam II to extend their power southwards as well as northwards (2 Kings xiv. 25; cf. Amos vi. 14, the 'sea of the Arabah' or gulf of Elath marking the southern boundary of Israel's expansion¹). At this time Judah was under the strong and able rule of Uzziah, and, though not unfriendly to the northern kingdom, was quite capable of rendering effective aid to Moab. Whether the authorship of the oracle is to be ascribed, as Hitzig proposes, to Jonah, son of Amitai (2 Kings xiv. 25), it is impossible to determine.

It is possible, indeed, that the oracle might be ascribed to an earlier period when Omri (circ. 890 b. c.) conquered Moab (cf. Moabite Stone, inscription of Mēša', ll. 4, 5, 7), but respecting the relations of Judah to Moab and to Israel at this time we have no information.

Both Duhm and Marti adopt the extreme course of placing the

¹ This statement in 2 Kings xiv. 25 can scarcely be regarded as a literal fact. The permanent occupation of Edom and the gulf of Elath would at once have awakened the hostility of Judah, to whom the port was restored in the reign of Uzziah (*ibid.* verse 22, and article 'Uzziah,' Hastings' *DB.*). It is, of course, quite possible that the appeal to Judah (xvi. 1-5) was based on the supposition that *Jeroboam's policy* was regarded with disfavour at the court in *Jerusalem as infringing Judah's rights.*

and brought to nought. He is gone up to Bayith, and to :

oracle as late as the second century B.C., and the concluding addendum xvi. 13 foll. in the days of John Hyrcanus, 135-105 B.C. (Marti), or Alexander Jannaeus, 104-78 B.C. (Duhm). Contrary to the evidence of the direction of flight of the Moabites *southwards* towards Edom, Marti assumes that the enemy were Arab nomads from the south-east, and compares Ezek. xxv. 4, 5, 10; Obad.; and Mal. i. 1-5. Now the evidence from the book of Jesus Sirachides (see Ryle, *Canon of the O.T.*, p. 109 foll.) points to the conclusion that the prophetic canon was closed in 180 B.C. Very strong evidence, therefore, is required to lead us to assume that not only editorial modifications but also *fresh oracles* came to be inserted after that time in the Isaianic collection. Such evidence is not forthcoming in the present case.

The style of the oracle is far inferior to that of the prophet Isaiah. Cf. the beauty of the strophes and the pendant in ix. 8-x. 4, v. 25-30 with the somewhat cumbrous mode of expression and monotony of xv. 2 foll. The passage, however, has a certain vividness and energy of its own.

There is a further question of interest suggested by comparison of this oracle with the longer and much more detailed prophecy on Moab in Jer. xlvi. On the composite character of this chapter see Giesebrécht's commentary on Jeremiah. In both we have 'going with weeping on the ascent of Luhith' (xv. 5 and Jer. xlvi. 5), 'cry out or howl for Moab' (xv. 5, xvi. 7, and Jer. xlvi. 31), 'we have heard of the pride of Moab' (xvi. 6 and Jer. xlvi. 29), 'cry of Heshbón . . . even unto Jaháš' (xv. 4 and Jer. xlvi. 34), 'vine of Sibmah' (xvi. 8, 9 and Jer. xlvi. 32), and many other parallels might be cited (see notes)¹. But a further examination of Jer. xlvi shows that it contains a large number of other literary parallels (notably verse 45 and Num. xxi. 28, 29 and verses 43, 44 with Isa. xxiv. 17, 18). The conclusion suggested by these comparisons to the present writer is that the longer oracle in Jeremiah is largely made up of citations from the same source as that from which this oracle in Isaiah is taken, and from the same source the '*mâshâl*' or brief 'taunt-song' in Num. xxi. 27-30 is derived². Probably the original

¹ Cf. also the list of references to parallel passages in Kuenen, *Histor.-kritische Einleitung, Zweiter Theil (Die Prophet. Bücher)*, p. 73.

² Omitting the line 'To an Amorite king Sihôn' in verse 29, which is a later gloss. See Gray, *Numbers*, pp. 304, 305. The metrical features, on the other hand, of the fragment in Numbers do not reveal the *Kînah* measure. No conclusion, however, can be based

Dibon, to the high places, to weep : Moab howleth over Nebo, and over Medeba : on all their heads is baldness,

was an extended *māshāl* (or series of *meshālim*), composed between 780 and 750 B.C. in reference to the overthrow of Moab by Israel. In Isaiah we have a considerable fragment preserved in nearly its original form.

We have here again the *Kinah* or elegiac metre of the Hebrews, arranged in strophes of six or perhaps seven lines each. Many of the strophes begin with the rhetorical 'therefore' of prophecy.

1. The construction of the opening is doubtful in two points. (1) Some would render the opening particle 'Yea' or 'Indeed' or interjectional 'Ah !'; others would regard it as elliptical = '[We mourn] that.' The former view is certainly preferable. We might also render the particle 'because' or 'for,' but this would be far too prosaic and would make the opening intolerably cumbrous. The translation in the R.V. is therefore to be rejected. (2) If the original Hebrew for 'night' be taken as construct (pronounce *lēl*), the rendering would be 'Ah ! in the night when 'Ar-Moab was overwhelmed, 'twas destroyed.' On the other hand, if taken as absolute (pronounce *layl*), we should translate:—

'Ah ! in a night 'Ar-Moab was overwhelmed—was destroyed !
Ah ! in a night Kir-Moab was overwhelmed—was destroyed !'

The former construction is that of our Massoretic Hebrew text; the latter, however, is decidedly more probable. After this introductory couplet the strophes commence. 'Ar-Moab and Kir-Moab were the two chief Moabite strongholds. The first stood on the left bank of the Arnon, and subsequently became confused with Rabbath Moab, which lay further to the south, and thus obtained the name Arcopolis. The latter, Kir-Moab, is identified with the modern *el Kerak* in the southern part of Moab. Some would further identify it with Kir-Hareseth in xvi. 7.

First Strophe (verses 2-4). Consternation reigns in the district north of the Arnon. The sanctuaries are visited by the distressed inhabitants.*

2. Render: 'One has gone up to the sanctuary¹ and Dibān

upon this, (1) as the passage is brief and subjected to textual modification; and (2) it is far from certain how far the elegiac measure was maintained consistently throughout these *Meshālim*, from which we know the passage in Numbers to have been derived (verse 27). Both language, tone, and contents favour the hypothesis of the integral connexion of this brief fragment with the Isaiah passage.

¹ There were various spots in Moab which bore this prefix (*bayith*),

every beard is cut off. In their streets they gird themselves 3 with sackcloth : on their housetops, and in their broad places, every one howleth, weeping abundantly. And 4 Heshbon crieth out, and Elealeh ; their voice is heard even unto Jahaz : therefore the armed men of Moab cry aloud ; his soul trembleth within him. My heart crieth 5 out for Moab ; her nobles *flee* unto Zoar, to Eglath-

high places, to weep.' Dibón is the modern Dhibán, about six miles north of Armon (cf. Num. xxi. 30), the very spot where the Stone of Mesha' (Moabite Stone) was discovered. 'On Nebo and on Mēdebā—Moab howls.' *Jebel Nebā* is a mountain standing near to the most northerly point of the Dead Sea (Moabite Stone, l. 14). The latter place is the modern Mādebā (cf. Moabite Stone, l. 8), a ruined spot situated on an eminence ; cf. Num. xxi. 30. Baldness of the head and shaving of the beard were also signs of mourning among the Hebrews. These signs of mourning are expanded in the parallel, Jer. xlvi. 37.

3. The *broad places* or open spots in an Eastern city of ancient times were the ordinary places of human concourse, where the grey-headed men sat and the children played (Zech. viii. 4 foll.).

4. The places mentioned lie still further north. Heshbōn is represented by the ruins of Hesbān, lying twenty-five miles from the Jordan and about eight miles north of Mādebā. El'āleh (meaning apparently 'The ascent') is the modern Hirbet el 'Al, lying between two and three miles further north (cf. Num. xxxii. 37). Heshbōn was the capital of the ancient Amorite kingdom (Num. xxi. 26), which subsequently came into the possession of the Israelites (Num. xxxii. 37 ; Joshua xiii. 17, xxi. 37), but was subsequently lost. *Jahas* (*Jahaz*) has not been identified : it probably lay south of Mādebā.

Second Strophe (verses 4^b to 6). *Continuance of the language of mourning, and reference to places.*

The new strophe begins with the characteristic word *therefore*.

5. In place of *nobles* read with R. V. marg. 'fugitives.' Zo'ar (*Sō'ar*) is situated south-east of the Dead Sea, now *Hirbet es-Sāfiya* (cf. Gen. xix. 22).

to Eglath-shelishiyah means 'to the third Eglath.' 'Eglath

which means 'house' or 'sanctuary,' e. g. Béth-Diblaim (Jer. xlvi. 22), north of Dibón ; Béth-Ba'al-Me'ón (Joshua xiii. 17), now called Ma'in, about six miles south-west of Mēdebā ; lastly, a Béth-Bamōdā mentioned in the Moabite Stone, l. 27.

shelishiyah : for by the ascent of Luhith with weeping they go up ; for in the way of Horonaim they raise up a cry of destruction. For the waters of Nimrim shall be desolate : for the grass is withered away, the tender grass

(or 'heifer') was the name given to three distinct spots not far from one another. The 'Eglath here meant was probably the most southern of the three. It may have been the Agalla mentioned by Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 1, 4. We find the same name in *Jer.* xlvi. 34. There is therefore no need to believe that the word is a mere gloss imported here from that passage. At the same time after the verse

'My heart cries out for Moab ; her fugitives [fly] unto Zoar' we lose the Kīnah rhythm, and all that seems possible is to write :

‘Eglath the third [mourns]¹ . . . ,’

the shorter line of the verse having been apparently lost. The following verse then runs thus :—

‘Ah ! up the ascent of Halluhīth—’mid weeping one climbs it.’

Both in this and the following line ‘Ah !’ should be read instead of the intolerable and prosaic *for* of the R. V. (so again in verse 6²; cf. verse 1 and note). These places are to be found on the southward track of the fugitive crowd. Luhīth lay, according to the Onomasticon, between Rabbath-Moab and Zoar.

6. R. V. marg. ‘desolations’ is the more literal rendering. The expression is best explained by the description of the combined expedition against Moab by Israel and Judah in alliance (Jehoram and Jehoshaphat) in the days of Mesha¹ (*2 Kings* iii. 25), when the wells were stopped up. Nimrim has been identified by Gesenius, Hitzig, Delitzsch, and Cheyne with the *Beth Nimrā* of Num. xxxii. 36 in the Jordan valley in Wady Nimrin, but this is too far to the north-west. Seetzen discovered a *Moyet Nimméry* (‘waters Nimri’), a brook which flows over a stony tract, while in the Onomasticon we find a reference to a place Neberim or Nemerim lying somewhat north of Zoar. We have also a *Wady Numeire* at the south-east corner of the Dead Sea. See Tristram, *Land of Moab*, p. 57; and Bädeker’s *Palästina*, p. 147. As in the case of ‘Eglath (heifer), there seem to have been several places of this name. We find the name also in Sabaeo-Arabic inscriptions.

¹ It is by no means certain that the strophe uniformly consisted of six verses. Verses 7 foll. seem to point to another conclusion. Marti thinks the strophe may have extended to seven verses (i. e. full lines).

² Similarly in Num. xxi. 28.

faieth, there is no green thing. Therefore the abundance 7 : they have gotten, and that which they have laid up, shall they carry away to the brook of the willows. For the cry 8 is gone round about the borders of Moab ; the howling thereof unto Eglaim, and the howling thereof unto Beer-elim. For the waters of Dimon are full of blood : 9 for I will bring yet more upon Dimon, a lion upon him that escapeth of Moab, and upon the remnant of the land.

The name seems to have meant 'leopards,' a word common to most Semitic languages. (Heb. *nāmér*, Arabic *nimr*, and Assyrian *nimru*).

Third Strophe (verses 7-9). Flight of the Moabites, who carry their possessions with them.

7. For **abundance** substitute 'savings' which they have been able to rescue from destruction or the spoliation of the invader. The feminine form used in Hebrew is a solitary example. Elsewhere we have the masculine.

It is by no means an easy question to settle whether we should adhere to the Massoretic Hebrew text in this passage, and render **brook of the willows**, as the R. V. translates, and many modern commentators (following the undoubted meaning of the Heb. '*arābim*) ; or follow the hint contained in 2 Kings xiv. 25 and Amos vi. 14, and by making a slight change in the text render 'brook of the "Arābah"', or brook of the steppe, the 'Arābah being the region that lay south of the depression of the Dead Sea extending to the gulf of Elath. The latter seems a probable as well as attractive hypothesis. The stream that is meant would then flow in the Wady el Ahsa, and this geographical identification is in full accord with verse 5 where Zoar is mentioned, as well as verse 8 where the frontier of Moab is referred-to, and xvi. 1 in which Sela' is named.

8. **Eglaim** and **Beer-elim** cannot be identified. The latter means 'Well of the mighty' (or perhaps 'of terebinths').

9. **Dimon** suggests the Hebrew word *dām*, **blood**. The O. T. is full of these punning references to names. Some have identified Dimon with Dibōn (modern Dhibān), but this is mere conjecture.

more : lit. 'what is added.' The **lion** which is to be brought upon those who escape of Moab probably means the Assyrian power which caused fresh disasters to befall Moab in the days of Tiglath-Pileser III.

18 Send ye the lambs for the ruler of the land from Sela
which is toward the wilderness, unto the mount of the
 a daughter of Zion. For it shall be that, as wandering
 birds, as a scattered nest, so shall the daughters of Moab

CHAPTER XVI.

Fourth Strophe (verses 1-4^a). Arrival in Edom and appeal to Judah.

1. If the date we have assigned to this oracle (or *māshāl*) be correct, Edom, including the port of Elath, was at this time (the reign of Uzziah) within Judah's sphere of influence (see footnote p. 204, and cf. 2 Kings xiv. 22). *Sela'* (or 'the Cliff,' hence rendered *Petra* by the Greeks and so named) was the capital of Edom¹. The Moabite chiefs in their distress evidently deliberate together on what is to be done. Israel (i. e. the northern kingdom) had overwhelmed their country as it had done formerly in the days of Omri and of Jehoram. They direct their appeal to the powerful king Uzziah, suzerain of Edom. We are not told who deliberated, but here (as in Ps. ii. 2 ff. and Mic. vi. 1-8) it is clear who were the actors in the drama.

It is far from certain whether we should here translate by an imperative *Send ye*, as in A. V. and R. V., or by a perfect 'They have sent,' as Duhm renders. Moab was a pastoral as well as agricultural country, and the tribute, to which 2 Kings iii. 4 refers as paid annually to the king of Israel, consisted in lambs and their wool.

2. Duhm and Cheyne are certainly right in their view that this verse has been placed out of its true connexion. Here it only interrupts the natural sequence between verses 1 and 3. Duhm, however, refuses to regard it as an integral portion of the oracle, and places it (translated in roman type instead of italics) at the close of chap. xv, together with the close of verse 9, 'For I will bring yet more,' &c. But this is an arbitrary procedure. The style of the oracle confessedly falls far below that of the prophet Isaiah, and therefore its defects of style do not militate against the right of xvi. 2 to be regarded as a genuine part of the

¹ The view here adopted is that of most commentators (including Gesenius, Hitzig, Ewald, and Duhm). Kittel, on the other hand, would prefer not to regard *Sela'* here as a proper name, since it has the definite article in 2 Kings xiv. 7 and the position of *Petra* or *Sela'* is too far south. He bases his view on Jer. xlvi. 28, but the occurrence of the word 'rock' there has no parallel to its position in the present passage. The relation of Jer. xlvi. 28 to the original *māshāl* is not so close as that of the briefer oracle before us.

be at the fords of Arnon. Give counsel, execute judgement ; make thy shadow as the night in the midst of the noonday : hide the outcasts ; bewray not the wanderer. Let mine outcasts dwell with thee ; as for Moab, be thou a covert to him from the face of the spoiler : for the extortioner is brought to nought, spoiling ceaseth,

oracle. But as the preceding chapter portrays a flight southward, and we have here a reference to the fords of the *Arnon*, its true place in all probability is to be found near the beginning of chap. xv, which seems to contain only the fragment of a strophe near its commencement. Render :—

‘And it shall come to pass, as wandering birds—a nest cast forth,
Shall be the daughters of Moab—at the fords of the Arnon.’

We are reminded of the imagery of Isaiah (x. 14, xxxi. 5) in reference to the birds and the despoiled nest. The daughters of Moab signify the daughter-towns or communities (as in Ps. xlvi. 11; Num. xxi. 25; Judges xi. 26).

3. The daughter of Zion (in verse 1) is here addressed. Cities and their communities in Hebrew are always regarded as feminine. The Hebrew text, however, blends two different traditions, *one* of which regards the address as directed to the city (feminine) in its collective capacity and gives us the imperative singular feminine, and the *other* regards the individual elders as those who are addressed, and therefore gives us the second plural masculine. The former conception should be consistently maintained (viz. of a collective feminine). We have a like confusion in Ps. xi. 1.

4. Instead of *spoiler* render ‘destroyer,’ and for *spoiling* read ‘destruction.’ The versions (LXX, Peshiṭto and Targum) read the original so that the word for *outcasts* has a different vowel-punctuation and is connected with the word Moab which immediately follows in the Hebrew. We should then render : ‘Let the outcasts of Moab dwell with thee ; be thou a covert to them,’ &c. This is grammatically quite possible. The rendering of R. V. (based on Massoretic punctuation) is, however, preferable. Probably some word, such as *yôshbē*, ‘inhabitants of...,’ has been dropped out before ‘Moab,’ for the elegiac measure halts. Duhm renders :—

‘Let my outcasts dwell with thee—[inhabitants] of Moab
Be a covert for them—before the destroyer.’

The Fifth Strophe (verses 4^b-6), *The appeal and its rejection*, begins in the middle of this verse. The interpretation is somewhat difficult. Probably the perfect tenses should be rendered as future perfects. Render :—

5 oppressors are consumed out of the land. And a throne shall be established in mercy, and one shall sit thereon in truth, in the tent of David ; judging, and seeking judgement, and swift to do righteousness.

6 We have heard of the pride of Moab, *that* he is very proud; even of his arrogancy, and his pride, and his 7 wrath ; his boastings are nought. Therefore shall Moab howl for Moab, every one shall howl : for the raisin-cakes

'When oppression shall have been ended, destruction done—
the trampler ceased from the land,

Then shall be established in love a throne... .

Verse 5 begins the apodosis. This appeal from Moab to Judah was based on the fact that the reigning dynasty of Judah had remained in the line of Davidic descendants from the days of Solomon, whereas a series of short dynasties violently cut off had reigned in Samaria during this entire period of 200 years. Even a foreign neighbour would be impressed by the contrast.

In place of *truth* render 'faithfulness.' It was a royal authority that was 'seeking after justice and eagerly bent on righteousness.'

6. Then follows after this glowing appeal to the throne of David and its ethical Messianic glory a chilling response from the court of the Jewish king.

his wrath : properly 'his wrathful insolence.' The last clause of the verse should be rendered 'false is his talk.'

Sixth Strophe (verses 7, 8). *Moab, left to his fate, bewails his lot.*

7. The *raisin-cakes* had their place at the autumnal feast of Ingathering ; they consisted of cakes made of the pressed grapes and fine meal. Similar cakes are still made in Cyprus at the festival seasons—a survival of the ancient Phoenician tradition which has strayed into Church usage¹. We similarly read of

¹ Hos. iii. 1 shows that similar raisin-cakes were part of the Baal cult. An interesting inscription discovered in Cyprus illustrates these statements. It is inscribed in black and red ink on small marble pieces. One of them describes the sacrificial expenses incurred for the month Ethanim (= Tishri or September-October). Among them we find the item : 'For two bakers who have baked the cakes for the queen [of heaven].' We have a very instructive parallel to this in Jer. vii. 18, in which reference is made to the small cakes (*Kawwānim*) which the women of Judah in the seventh century baked as offerings to 'Ashoreth 'queen of heaven.' In the legalized Hebrew ritual we might compare the *massoth* or unleavened cakes.

of Kir-hareseth shall ye mourn, utterly stricken. For the 8 fields of Heshbon languish, *and* the vine of Sibmah ; the lords of the nations have broken down the choice plants thereof ; they reached even unto Jazer, they wandered into the wilderness ; her branches were spread abroad, they passed over the sea. Therefore I will weep with the 9 weeping of Jazer for the vine of Sibmah : I will water thee with my tears, O Heshbon, and Elealeh : for upon thy summer fruits and upon thy harvest the *battle shout*

raisin-cakes distributed by David at a festival in honour of Yahweh,
2 Sam. vi. 19.

Kir Hareseth appears to be identical with the Kir Heres in verse 11, and both are probably the same as the 'Kir of Moab' in xv. 1.

8. Translate : 'whose choice vine-plants beat down the lords of nations.' The vines of Sibmah were celebrated, and the wine of this vintage was drunk in many a lordly banquet and intoxicated the revellers. The wide prevalence of drunkenness in the upper classes of Canaanite society is often referred to in the pre-exilian prophets : cf. v. 11, 22, xxviii. 1, 3; Amos vi. 4, 6; and other passages. See also Introduction to this Commentary, p. 44. The word 'beat down' is the same in the original as that which is used when Jael beat down Sisera with the hammer (Judges v. 26). It is employed as a strong metaphor to describe the intoxicating effects of the wine. So luxuriant were these vine-plants that they extended as far as Ja'zer in the north (sixty-five miles north of Heshbon and forty miles west of Rabbath Ammon) and even 'strayed' into the desert. The expression 'stray' exactly represents their haphazard mode of growth, which requires no stick or tree by way of support. 'Their branches spread abroad and passed over to the sea,' the sea meant here being, of course, the Dead Sea. Some would interpret the Hebrew as meaning crossed over the sea to the western side, viz. En-gedi. But this is not a necessary rendering, and in this case improbable. We have, therefore, followed Duhm, Kittel, and Marti in translating 'passed over to the sea.'

Seventh Strophe (verses 9, 10). Continuation of the lament.

9. The word rendered 'battle shout' in Hebrew means any shout of exultation. It may be the hurrah! of the warriors on storming a stronghold (cf. Jer. li. 14), or the exulting cries of those who tread the grapes in the wine-press (lxiii. 3; Joel iv. 13 (Heb. A.V. iii); and *Hebrew Antiquities*, p. 101). Here the former sense, the

10 is fallen. And gladness is taken away, and joy out of the fruitful field ; and in the vineyards there shall be no singing, neither joyful noise : no treader shall tread out wine in the presses ; I have made the *vintage* shout to 11 cease. Wherefore my bowels sound like an harp for 12 Moab, and mine inward parts for Kir-heres. And it shall come to pass, when Moab presenteth himself, when he wearieth himself upon the high place, and shall come to his sanctuary to pray, that he shall not prevail.

battle-shout of the invader, is meant. In the following verse the same word is used in the latter sense (cf. Jer. xxv. 30).

10. ‘In the vineyards no ringing cry is uttered—no joyful noise : Wine into the wine-vats treader treadeth not—the shouting is stilled !’

R.V. **in the presses** is quite wrong. The wine-*press* (Heb. *gath* or *p̄rah*) was a broad, shallow, rock-hewn cavity (cf. Isa. v. 2, and *Hebrew Antiquities*, p. 99) into which the grapes were cast and trodden in the gay autumnal vintage-season. The wine-*vat* was a narrower and deeper cavity beneath the ‘press’ (called, as here, *yēkebh*), into which the grape-juice from the wine-press flowed.

The first person singular form rendered **I have made . . . to cease** (both here and in the parallel Jer. xlvi. 33) should probably be pronounced in the original as a *passive* of the causative form : ‘shouting has been made to cease’ (cf. LXX).

Eighth Strophe (verses 11, 12) is obviously mutilated. *Sympathy with Moab. Vain supplication by Moab at his high places.*

11. sound, lit. ‘murmur.’

12. The high place referred to is obviously that of Moab’s deity Chemosh. A comparison with the parallel in Jer. xlvi. 13 has suggested to Ewald and Cheyne that we might follow the hint of the latter passage and by a comparatively slight modification of the text begin the apodosis to the temporal clause after **prevail** by adding on the extra clause : ‘that Moab shall be ashamed of Chemosh¹,’ which had dropped out of the Isaiah text. It is quite possible that we might in this way recover the beginning of an extra verse in this mutilated strophe.

¹ The whole passage would then read : ‘And it shall come to pass, when Moab presenteth himself (or appears), . . . and shall come to his sanctuary to pray, and shall not prevail, that Moab shall be ashamed of Chemosh.’

[I] This is the word that the LORD spake concerning Moab in time past. But now the LORD hath spoken, saying, Within three years, as the years of an hireling, and the glory of Moab shall be brought into contempt, with all his great multitude; and the remnant shall be very small and of no account.

[R] The burden of Damascus.

17

[I] Behold, Damascus is taken away from being a city,

Isaiah's comment on the above, accompanied by his own brief prophecy (verses 13, 14). The three years are intended to express a brief interval, no longer than the period for which a man cares to hire himself. It is impossible to be certain as to the date when this addendum was written, as we possess no clues to guide us. We therefore do not know whether, according to the prophet, it was Sargon or Sennacherib who was to be author of Moab's further humiliation.

CHAPTER XVII.

An Oracle of doom against Damascus and Ephraim (verses 1-11). We obviously have in this passage one of the earlier oracles of Isaiah. The kingdom of Ephraim exists, and the fortress-citadel Samaria. To both, as to the kingdom of Syria (Aram) and its capital Damascus, there shall come a ruinous overthrow, leaving behind it only a small remnant (verses 1-6). The result will be a return to Israel's true God, 'the Holy One of Israel,' and abandonment of images, altars, and the alluring cults after which the people had strayed (verses 7-11).

This oracle, therefore, contemplates a time when the kingdoms of Damascus and Samaria were not only existing, but were in alliance and were comparatively unscathed by the ravages of war. No reference is made to the coalition against Judah. It is possible therefore that we have here the earliest oracle delivered by Isaiah after the death-year of Uzziah.

It will be observed that Assyria is not expressly named, though it was evidently present to the mind of the prophet. Probably the year 736 B.C. would not be too early a date for this prophecy (similarly, Ewald, Cheyne, Duhm). In its original form and extent it apparently consisted of a series of eight-lined strophes, to which was added the concluding phrase 'Saith the Lord of Hosts,' or 'Saith the Lord God of Israel,' or some analogous expression.

First Strophe (verses 1-3). Downfall of Damascus and Israel.

1. taken away from being a city means, is destroyed so that it ceases to be a city any longer,

- 2 and it shall be a ruinous heap. The cities of Aroer are forsaken : they shall be for flocks, which shall lie down, 3 and none shall make them afraid. The fortress also shall cease from Ephraim, and the kingdom from Damascus, and the remnant of Syria ; they shall be as the glory of the children of Israel, saith the LORD of hosts.
- 4 And it shall come to pass in that day, that the glory of Jacob shall be made thin, and the fatness of his flesh 5 shall wax lean. And it shall be as when the harvestman gathereth the standing corn, and his arm reapeth the

2. There were two places called *Aro'er*, both situated in the Moabite territory : the first, mentioned in Num. xxxii. 34, situated on the northern bank of the Arnon in its middle part rather more than two miles south of Dibón (Dibân) ; the second was situated near Rabbath Ammon (Joshua xiii. 25).

cities of *Aro'er* might mean the towns lying around the Aroer. We have here a geographical puzzle. It is hardly probable, or even possible, that at this time the Aramaean kingdom extended so far south, and, unless we are to assume that some unknown *Aro'er* existed in Syria, we must regard the passage with some suspicion : and this is confirmed by reference to the LXX. Accordingly it would be better with Lagarde, Cheyne, and Duhm to accept the reading there suggested, and in place of 'the cities of *Aro'er* are forsaken' to read : '[a ruined heap] abandoned for ever.'

The image in the latter part of the verse reminds us of chap. v. 17.

3. The **fortress** which is to cease from Ephraim is Samaria, the stronghold erected by Omri about 890 b. c., and from that time the royal residence of the kings of Northern Israel. (So Gesenius, Hitzig, and Orelli.) Or it might be regarded as a general or collective expression (Delitzsch and Guthe). The former is more probable, since Samaria occupied in Ephraim the position of Damascus in Syria. The interpretation which makes the expression refer to Damascus or Syria as the bulwark of Ephraim against Assyrian invasion (Duhm, Skinner, Marti) is much less probable.

Second Strophe (verses 4-6). *Israel's humiliation. A slight remnant only left.*

4. For **made thin** read 'impoverished.'

5. We have a hint in this passage that the ears were cut by the reapers, not very low down, but midway between ears and

ears ; yea, it shall be as when one gleaneth ears in the valley of Rephaim. Yet there shall be left therein 6 gleanings, as the shaking of an olive tree, two or three berries in the top of the uppermost bough, four or five in the outmost branches of a fruitful tree, saith the LORD, the God of Israel. In that day shall a man look unto 7

soil, for the ancient Canaanite harvesters set little value on straw¹. The valley of Rephaim lay south-west of Jerusalem, in the direction of Beth-lehem. The prophet makes his metaphor vivid to his Judaean countrymen by this local reference. The LXX misunderstood the word Rephaim.

6. For 'shaking' read 'beating,' with R.V. marg., and for 'outmost branches' substitute 'twigs.' The LXX omitted the word for 'fruit-tree' from their rendering.

Third Strophe (mutilated: 2 verses only, verses 7, 8). Man's heart turns to God.

Verses 7 and 8 are treated by Duhm and Marti as a later insertion. This cannot be argued on the basis of language, since, as Cheyne admits, it is essentially Isaianic, though he surrenders the Isaianic authorship because 'it is certain that the style is not bright' (*Introduction*, p. 94). No valid argument can be built on the use of the single phrase *his Maker* (which also occurs in exilian and post-exilian passages such as li. 13, liv. 5, and xxvii. 11), when it is remembered that the corresponding verb is employed at the opening of the pre-exilian Yahwistic cosmogony (Gen. ii. 4). Nor can it be said that this passage constitutes any marked interruption to the sequence of thought. The following strophe, which is acknowledged to be genuinely Isaianic, and also begins with the same phrase 'In that day,' sustains the same current of ideas. At the same time these two verses stand better *after* the strophe that succeeds it (verses 9-11), and form an appropriate sequence to that strophe as well as climax to the poem (the last five or six lines having been lost).

¹ Comp. *Hebrew Antiquities*, pp. 88 and 93, and see the reproduction of the relief from the tomb of Ti in Sakkara on the frontispiece, which portrays Egyptian harvest operations. The LXX rendering is based on the reading *sera'* ('seed') instead of *serbō'* ('his arm') of our Massoretic Hebrew text. Their translation runs: 'And it shall come to pass, just as one gathers the standing harvest and reaps the seed of the corn-ears.' This gives the Hebrew word *Kāṣr* its ordinary meaning, but a feminine gender, which is contrary to usage.

his Maker, and his eyes shall have respect to the Holy
 8 One of Israel. And he shall not look to the altars, the
 work of his hands, neither shall he have respect to that
 which his fingers have made, either the Asherim, or the
 9 sun-images. In that day shall his strong cities be as the

8. The words **altars**, **Asherim**, and **sun-images** are almost certainly interpretative glosses added by a later scribe. They are prosaic additions which disturb the rhythm of the lines. The **Asherah** (plur. **Ashērim**) has been held by many recent critics, especially Wellhausen and Robertson Smith, to have been simply the sacred pole or symbol of fertility to be found in Semitic shrines generally, not Canaanite only, but also Babylonian. Even the syncretic cult of Yahweh had the **Asherah** or sacred pole as its accompaniment¹ (2 Kings xiii. 6, xxiii. 6, 15), and it is frequently met with in connexion with the stone pillar or **Mas̄ebah**. Barton (*Semitic Origins*, p. 106 footnote) is disposed to connect its origin with the wooden posts which marked out the limits of ancient Semitic sanctuaries; and Moore (in *Enc. Bibl.*, article 'Ashēra') explains through this the origin of the Assyrian word for 'sanctuary,' *ashirtu* or *eshirtu*. This is confirmed by the use of the word in the Phoenician inscription cited by G. Hoffmann, which is a dedication 'to the Ashtart ('Ashtoreth) in the **Asherah** [=sanctuary] of El Hammon.' But whatever be the origin of the expression, it came to be the name of a female deity. This is clearly shown in the Tell el Amarna tablets, in which we find frequent mention of an 'Abd-ashratum = Heb. 'Ebed-Asherah, 'servant of Asherah,' a proper name formed on the analogy of many other Semitic names meaning 'Servant of —,' some deity being compounded with the word for 'servant.' Hommel has also found on a Minaean (ancient Arabic) inscription the name of a goddess *Athirat*, consort of the deity Wadd. The form of the name is simply the Arabic equivalent of the Heb. **Asherah**. See Moore's article 'Asherah' in *Enc. Bibl.*, where the fullest and clearest statement of facts is given.

The **sun-images** were pillars dedicated to the worship of the sun (*Hammānim*; see article 'Pillar' in Hastings' *DB*). The word seems to belong to later times than the ordinary word for sacred pillar (*mas̄ebah*).

Fourth Strophe (verses 9-11). *Abandoned state of the towns a consequence of Israel's forgetfulness of Yahweh.*

9. The LXX here guide us to the right text, which should be

¹ We may compare the **Asherah** connected with the worship of **Baal**, which was 'upon (or by) the altar,' Judges vi. 25, 30.

forsaken places in the wood and on the mountain top,
which were forsaken from before the children of Israel :
and it shall be a desolation. For thou hast forgotten the God of thy salvation, and hast not been mindful of the rock of thy strength ; therefore thou plantest pleasant

rendered thus : 'In that day shall thy cities be abandoned like the abandoned spots forsaken by the *Hivites and the Amorites*, before the Israelites : and it shall become a desolation.' It seems more probable, from a careful examination of our corrupted Hebrew text, that the original reading was 'Hivites and Amorites' rather than in the reverse order given in the LXX and R.V. marg. Some critics consider that the concluding relative clause in the Hebrew rendered by 'before the Israelites . . . desolation' is a later explanatory gloss. The style is certainly prosaic.

The name *Amorites* is a 'comprehensive term for the people whom Israel conquered and succeeded on both sides of the Jordan' (Moore on Judges iii. 5). In the Tell el Amarna tablets (1450-1400 B.C.) the name is used as a designation for Canaan (māt Amurri), while in the ancient Egyptian documents we find *Amar* used as a designation for a people dwelling as far north as Kadesh on the Orontes (Max Müller, *Asien u. Europa*, p. 217, and pp. 223-6). The term Amorite in *E* (the document of Northern Israel), as well as in Deut. and Amos ii. 10, means pretty much the same as the more common designation 'Canaanite' in the document *J*, which belongs to Southern Israel. Though both the names Amorite and Canaanite (*Kinahhi*) are found in the Tell el Amarna tablets, there is no certain indication that they represented different nationalities (so Moore).

On the other hand, the name *Hivites* has been explained in two different ways. One explanation connects it with a word signifying a nomad or Bedawi encampment, just as 'Perizzite' has been explained as meaning 'plain-dweller.' But there is another etymology, which Moore is disposed to prefer, which connects it with the Arabian *Hayyat*, meaning 'snake.' The Hivites, like many Arabic tribes enumerated in Robertson Smith's *Kinship and Marriage*, ascribed their origin to an animal totem. They were the 'snake' tribe. There are many similar tribes in South Africa and North America. This, however, is only an ingenious theory, though not improbable, since other Hebrew names, as Leah and Rachel, are capable of a similar explanation.

10. The God of the Hebrews was frequently called their rock of strength, refuge, or salvation (victory)—xxx. 29; Deut. xxxii. Ps. xxxi. 3, lxii. 8, lxxi. 3, xciv. 22, xcvi. 1—and this same word for rock (*sûr*) also enters into combination with the name for

11 plants, and settest it with strange slips ; in the day of thy planting thou hedgest it in, and in the morning thou makest thy seed to blossom : but the harvest fleeth away in the day of grief and of desperate sorrow.

12 Ah, the uproar of many peoples, which roar like the

deity in proper names. In Babylonian names we have the word *shadū*, 'mountain,' similarly compounded. Translate :—

'Therefore, though thou plantest plantings of Adonis,

'And sowest it with the slip of a strange [God] ;

'And, whenever thou plantest, hedgest it in,

'And in the morn causest thy seed to sprout :

'[Yet] vanished is the harvest in the day of distemper.

'And malignant pain.'

'Plantings of pleasaunce' (or sweet charm) is an allusion to the cult of Adonis, about which we know but little, though we have certain indications to guide us. It must be recollectcd that Northern Israel, through its geographical position, became exposed to the religious influences of the north, i.e. Phoenicia and Syria. Chief among these was the cult of Tammuz (Babylonian *Dumusī*), invoked as *Adoni*, 'my Lord,' whence the Greek name *Adonis* (cf. Ezek. viii. 14). The word in Hebrew, rendered 'pleasaunce' above, is *na'amānī* (root *n'm*), and proper names, Phoenician as well as Hebrew, like *Abino'am* and *A'lino'am*, contain a common element derived from the same root *n'm*, which was a designation of this old Semitic deity of love (who appears in the Babylonian epic of the Descent of Ishtar to Hades)¹. Gardens were cultivated with vine-slips in his honour, as Robertson Smith suggests, 'pots of quickly withering flowers, which the ancients used to set at their doors, or in the courts of temples.' The tradition was borrowed by the Greeks, and called 'gardens of Adonis' (cf. Plato, *Phaedrus*, 276). The word 'anemone' has been held to contain the word *no'am*, the Semitic name for Adonis, and Lagarde recalls the significant fact that the Arabs call the red anemone 'the wounds of Adonis'.²

CHAPTERS XVII. 12—XVIII. 7.

We have in this group of oracles, which we have combined

¹ Respecting Tammuz, see Morris Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia*, pp. 96, 482, 564 foll., 574 foll. The name of the Syrian Na'amān is that of this deity—an epithet applied to Tammuz and the singular form of the very word in our Hebrew text. Cf. also the names Na'amah, sister of Tubal Cain (Gen. iv. 22), as well as No'omi (Naomi) in the *Book of Ruth*.

² *Shakāiku-n-no'mān*.

roaring of the seas'; and the rushing of nations, that rush like the rushing of mighty waters! The nations shall rush

together, passages whose import is obscure and mutual interrelation far from certain. That they are Isaianic seems fairly evident from the language and style. The metaphor of the roaring sea, applied to the advancing hosts of the Assyrians, reminds us of the moaning sea in chap. v. 30, at the close of a passage of great graphic power. The closing verse, i.e. xviii. 7, might be a prosaic and later addition.

Opinions are much divided as to the connexion of chap. xviii with the close of xvii, which has been advocated by a series of expositors, Rosenmüller, Gesenius, Ewald, Knobel, Dillmann, Kittel, and Duhm. It is argued by Dillmann that xviii. 4-6 would hardly be intelligible unless the clear reference to the overthrow of the Assyrians in xvii. 12-14 had not preceded.

If we regard the conclusion of chap. xvii as connected with chap. xviii, we have still to determine the time as well as historic circumstances to which both refer. About this there is now a fairly strong consensus of opinion. Most critics, including Gesenius and Ewald, as well as Driver and Duhm, would refer them to the days of Sennacherib. Indeed no other date than 702 B.C. (circ.) seems to have any probability. This date indeed is assigned by Cheyne to chap. xviii; but to xvii. 12-14, which he separates from the former, he attributes a much earlier year, 723. Yet we have no reason to believe that Isaiah at that time believed in the rapid decay of the Assyrian power. The date we have already assigned to chap. ix. 7-x. 4, v. 25-30 would indicate precisely the opposite. The year 711 B.C. is equally impossible: chap. xx proves that at that time Isaiah showed no belief in the weakening of Assyria under Sargon's strong military rule. It is otherwise with 702 B.C. The year to which we assigned the prophecy x. 5 foll. was about 704. In that oracle the overthrow of the Assyrian and his arrogance was plainly announced. To nearly the same date we may assign the Isaianic utterances xvii. 12-xviii. 6.

The attempt of Stade (in *Zeitsch. für alt-testamentliche Wissensch.*, 1883) and of Marti (in his commentary) to discover reasons for the post-Isaianic authorship of xvii. 12 can hardly be regarded as successful. The reference to the many and mighty nations that are to attack Jerusalem might be well understood to allude to the various races included in an Assyrian army. These traits cannot be considered to be indications of those later conceptions of the nations of the world assembled against Jerusalem, such as we find in Ezek. xxxviii-ix and Joel iii. 14 and similar eschatological passages. It is equally futile to lay any stress (as Marti does) on

like the rushing of many waters: but he shall rebuke them, and they shall flee far off, and shall be chased as the chaff of the mountains before the wind, and like the whirling dust before the storm. At eventide behold terror; *and* before the morning they are not. This is the portion of them that spoil us, and the lot of them that rob us.

18 Ah, the land of the rustling of wings, which is beyond

the expression ‘your plunderers’ and ‘robbers’ (verse 14 ad fin.). The occurrence of such epithets for the enemies of the Jews cannot be considered to be a sign of lateness.

The general contents of xvii. 12—xviii. 7 may be summarized as follows:—Vast hordes of races rage in the land like a storm-tossed sea, but at Yahweh’s rebuke they disperse (xvii. 12–14). To the distant people of Ethiopia the prophet through his messenger announces an impending crisis, of which all the nations of the world should be aware (xviii. 1–3). For Yahweh Himself, after allowing the enemy for a long time to abide and flourish in peace, will suddenly rob him of his resources and strength (verses 4–6).

12. It is difficult to express in an English translation the full meaning and power of sound conveyed by the original. The resonant word translated ‘uproar’ conveys the idea belonging to that English word, as well as that of the R. V. marg. ‘multitude.’ It signifies a vast volume of sound coming from a great body, whether of moving men or moving waters (1 Sam. iv. 14, xiv. 19; Job xxxix. 7; 1 Kings xviii. 41). The other resonant Hebrew word rendered **rush** conveys the idea of desolation as well as of rushing.

13. We are reminded of the vivid description of the onward destructive flood of Assyrian invasion in Isa. viii. 7, 8; cf. v. 25–30.

14. But, unlike those earlier utterances, we are now assured that the desolation will be only for one brief evening. It will have vanished by the morning, and the destroyer will be no more! Cf. Isa. xxxvii. 36–38.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1. The idea which pervades the preceding verses, the speedy overthrow of the Assyrian power, evidently dominates the present passage. An embassy is about to come to Jerusalem from Cush (or Ethiopia). The danger of an impending Assyrian invasion prompts the Ethiopians to open negotiations with

the rivers of Ethiopia : that sendeth ambassadors by the sea, even in vessels of papyrus upon the waters, *saying*, Go, ye swift messengers, to a nation tall and smooth, to

Hezekiah, whose policy at this time was guided by the prophet Isaiah. The embassy will come up the Nile stream in boats. The opinion of leading Egyptologists renders it impossible for us to associate the Ethiopian king Tirhakah (Taharko, Assyrian Tarkû) with this embassy. It is now definitely ascertained that Tirhakah did not ascend the throne till 694 B. c. (according to others 691). See article 'Tirhakah' in *Enc. Bibl.*; and Winckler, *KAT.*³, pp. 87-94, 273 and 321.

The Hebrew phrase rendered *rustling of wings* has been much discussed and variously explained. (1) The earliest interpretation of which we have any cognizance is that of the LXX, which renders the expression 'winged boats,' i. e. 'swiftly travelling boats' (so Targ., Kimhi, and Ewald). This is confirmed by the Arabic word *zulzul*, 'ships,' which is closely similar to the Hebrew. We also observe that vessels of papyrus-reed are mentioned in the following verse. It is, however, doubtful whether the conception would be anticipated in this way in verse 1, or whether this was the most vivid and truthful characterization of the land, and would be the most likely to impress the prophet. It must be confessed, however, that it has more probability than (2) the view which interprets the phrase as meaning 'a shadow on both sides (*lit.* wings).' This is the interpretation of the versions of Aq. as well as Pesh. The Jewish expositors Saadiah and Abulwalid held that this referred to the shadows cast by the two mountain-chains of Egypt, but this would hardly be a sufficiently distinctive characteristic. We can only regard it as a description of the feature that prevails in all tropical countries, in which the sun's shadow in varying times of the year is cast now on the north and now on the south side of the object (hence Strabo calls their inhabitants *διφίσκοις*). But this theory rests on the slender hypothesis that the reduplicated Hebrew form means the same as the monosyllabic *sēl*, 'shadow.' Even then the expression would not be without its difficulties. (3) Far more probable is the view which sees here a reference to the winged insect, viz. the Tsetze-fly, called in the language of the Galla tribes *tsaltsalya*, better known to us as the Central African Tsetze-fly. The root of the name in Hebrew is probably mimetic, and means 'to whirr,' 'rustle.' Accordingly translate: 'Land of the whirr of wings.'

The expression beyond the rivers of Ethiopia takes us further south than latitude 18°, for the name Kush (Cush) meant in the

a people terrible from their beginning onward; a nation that meteth out and treadeth down, whose land the

days of Isaiah what we now designate by Nubia (cf. Gen. x. 6)¹. Probably we should understand by the 'rivers' the *Aibara* and the Blue Nile (*Bahr el Azrak*). The knowledge possessed by the prophet of these distant regions was probably, like that of his countrymen generally, extremely vague. This, however, is no sufficient reason for cutting out this latter part of verse 1 as not genuine (as Duhm and Cheyne propose).

2. Ambassadors have been sent from Ethiopia to Jerusalem, and have travelled by papyrus-boats down the Nile, which is here called a sea. The occasion of the embassy is evidently the aggressive designs on Egypt entertained by Sennacherib, the new Assyrian monarch, which had alarmed Ethiopia.

The term *sea* applied to the Nile has an exact parallel in xix. 5; Nahum iii. 8. In Jer. li. 36 it is applied to the Euphrates. See Schrader, *COT.*, ii. p. 149 footnote.

These swift messengers, sailing rapidly down the broad Nile on their light boats of papyrus-reed, are bidden by the prophet to return to their own people with a message from Yahweh, intended to reassure them against overwhelming dread of the Assyrian foe.

This verse, it must be confessed, is very obscure. The word *saying*, introduced by R. V. and A. V. into their rendering, is very misleading. Instead of the verb *go*² (by which the original is correctly reproduced) we should expect 'return,' since it is generally assumed that the nation *tall and smooth* are the Ethiopians. The word in Hebrew rendered 'smooth' is applied in Ezek. xxi. 14 (in another participial form of the same verb) to a sharp, '*polished*' sword. Probably it here refers to the shining bronzed complexion of some race, and it has been generally assumed that the Ethiopians or Nubians are meant. In Hérodotus

¹ Hommel, who coincides with Winckler in identifying in many passages, e. g. Isa. xx; the Hebrew name for Egypt (*Misraim*) with the North-Arabian land *Mosar* (*Musrān*), which corresponds with the *māt muṣri* of the Assyrian inscriptions, would also identify Kūsh here with the land Kōsh lying to the south of Mosar in Western Arabia. The 'rivers of Ethiopia' in this passage are the Gihōn and Pishōn, which he places in this region. He would identify the land *Misraim* (Egypt) of chap. xix with this same North-Arabian country (*Aufsätze u. Abhandlungen*, iii. pp. 300 foll., 309 foll.). These hypotheses may be dismissed as mere conjecture.

² On the other hand, we have a similar use of this verb 'to go' in Hebrew in the sense of 'return' in Judges xxi. 21, 24.

rivers divide ! All ye inhabitants of the world, and ye 3
dwellers on the earth, when an ensign is listed up on the
mountains, see ye ; and when the trumpet is blown, hear
ye. For thus hath the LORD said unto me, I will be still, 4
and I will behold in my dwelling place ; like clear heat
in sunshine, like a cloud of dew in the heat of harvest.
For afore the harvest, when the blossom is over, and the 5
flower becometh a ripening grape, he shall cut off the

iii. 20 (cf. also 114) the Ethiopians are called 'the tallest and most handsome of all men.'

The latter part of the verse is exceedingly difficult, and the construction uncertain. Moreover, the LXX version gives us unmistakable warning that the text is corrupt. To restore the text appears to be an impossible task. The text of the Hebrew Bible we might render : 'unto a nation dreaded from that place and onwards ; a mighty, conquering race whose land streams (or canals) cleave asunder' ¹.

3. Though the message which the prophet sends through the messengers to Ethiopia is intended for that country, it has important significance for all the inhabitants of the world known to Isaiah. The prophet knew full well that the brunt of the impending attack would fall on Jerusalem. Ethiopia and the other nations are called upon to listen when the banner is raised and the alarm signal given for marshalling the Assyrian armies to battle.

4. Yahweh awaits the issue, beholding it with perfect calm from His abode, or, as Duhm considers, from the station which Yahweh has taken up as his place of observation. The comparison in the latter part of the verse is obscure. The season of the corn-harvest in Palestine lasts from Easter to Pentecost (beginning of April to middle of May). Just as the glowing heat of the sunshine by day and the heavy dew during the night do their steady work in ripening the harvest, so do God's 'purposes ripen fast.'

5-6. But at a critical moment, ere the harvest has arrived, when the blossom is over and the flower turns into the ripening grape, there comes the knife of destiny which remorselessly severs

¹ The rendering 'cleave asunder' is really conjectural. The verb occurs nowhere else in the O. T. except in this chapter. Aq., Symm., and other versions, as well as Targ., give a different interpretation; they render 'carry off,' 'wash away.'

sprigs with pruning-hooks, and the spreading branches
 6 shall he take away *and* cut down. They shall be left
 together unto the ravenous birds of the mountains, and
 to the beasts of the earth : and the ravenous birds shall
 summer upon them, and all the beasts of the earth shall
 7 winter upon them. [I?] In that time shall a present be
 brought unto the LORD of hosts of a people tall and
 smooth, and from a people terrible from their beginning
 onward ; a nation that meteth out and treadeth down,
 whose land the rivers divide, to the place of the name of
 the LORD of hosts, the mount Zion.

19 [R] The burden of Egypt.

tendrils and shoots. The anticipated and dreaded consummation never arrives. Assyria's warlike enterprises receive a sudden check. A ghastly picture is presented of mountain vultures and land animals battening over summer and winter upon the bodies of slaughtered Assyrian warriors.

Verse 7 looks like a later prosaic addition¹ in which the phrases of verse 2 are repeated. As a result of the Assyrian overthrow predicted by the prophet, the Ethiopians are deeply impressed by the power of Yahweh, God of Israel, and bring presents to His sacred abode in Zion.

CHAPTER XIX.

Yahweh will make a descent upon Egypt, and strike consternation among both the idol-deities and the inhabitants of the land. Civil war will break out. The people will have recourse to witchcraft, and will be delivered over to the tyranny of a cruel despot (verses 1-4). The system of Nile irrigation will cease and industries languish (verses 5-10). The boasted wisdom of the ruling classes will utterly fail (11-15). Yahweh and Judah will be dreaded by Egypt (10, 17). Five cities shall speak the Hebrew language, and an altar shall be erected to Yahweh, who manifests His power as a deliverer of the oppressed, so that the Egyptians come to know Him and offer Him worship (18-22). Egypt and Assyria then become united in the bonds of intercourse

¹ Zeph. iii. 10, which all recent critics regard as post-exilian, may indeed have inspired this closing verse in Isa. xviii, as Duhm suggests. It certainly presents a very close parallel.

[PE] Behold, the LORD rideth upon a swift cloud, and

and of the worship of Yahweh, Israel forming the mediating link, God's inheritance (23-25).

A certain progress of ideas seems to govern this chapter. The anarchic state of the country, which the Divine purpose inflicts on Egypt, closes in the recognition of His power. The tyranny of the despot gives place to the rule of Yahweh, and the union of the three kingdoms, Assyria, Israel, and Egypt, in one universal Divine empire.

But a closer examination of style and contents reveals a marked difference between verses 1-15 and those that follow. The former possess a certain poetical character, and evidently constitute a continuous whole. On the other hand, the latter are prosaic, and form a series of fragments introduced by the formula 'in that day.'

(1) The first fifteen verses describe the evils which Yahweh will inflict upon Egypt. The realm will be distracted by internecine conflicts. A cruel ruler and strong despot will rule over them. Various calamities will destroy the prosperity of the country, and the people will have recourse to the grossest superstition.

To what period of Egypt's history do these verses refer? The condition of internal weakness and disunion here depicted might indeed be regarded as representing the state of Egypt in the latter half of the eighth century B. C. down to 708, and it would be possible to identify the 'cruel lord' with Sargon at some time between the years 720 and 711 B. C. In other words, we might think of Egypt in the period of the twenty-third and twenty-fourth dynasties, when the country was governed by a number of petty princes of Libyan descent whom the Ethiopian king Pianchi endeavoured at an earlier period to subdue. We might therefore naturally assume that Isaiah, who was profoundly conscious of Egypt's weakness at this period (xx. 3, 4, xxx. 2-5, xxxi. 1-3), was the author of this section of the chapter. But there are reasons which weigh strongly against this conclusion. The Hebrew vocabulary is not that of Isaiah. In Dillmann-Kittel's commentary a series of words and phrases are noted in verses 5-10 which are strange to the diction of our prophet. The rhythm and metre drag; the style lacks vigour and originality. On these grounds we must assign this section to a much later period. It was probably composed in post-exilian times, in the days of the Persian supremacy, when Egypt suffered from internal weakness and was compelled to submit to the hard rule of Cambyses or Xerxes.

(2) The remainder of the chapter (16-25) consists of a number

cometh unto Egypt : and the idols of Egypt shall be moved at his presence, and the heart of Egypt shall melt

of detached fragments. (a) Verses 16, 17 continue the strain of evil denounced against Egypt. An added terror to Egypt will be the land of Judah. The phraseology of verse 17 clearly shows that it belongs to a later time than that of Isaiah, when Judah was hostile to Egypt. (b) Verse 18 points to a time when the Jewish population on the Nile had enormously increased, and the language of Canaan (or Hebrew) was spoken. This was probably in the Persian period, before Hebrew had given place to Greek and Aramaic. This consideration seems to be fatal to Duhm's hypothesis that verses 16-25 arose subsequent to 620 B. C., and is a glorification of the temple of Leontopolis. (c) Verses 19-22 probably belong to the pre-exilian period, and may have been written by Isaiah. In the Book of Deuteronomy there are strict injunctions against offering sacrifices, or erecting a pillar (*massébah*) in *any* spot, since the temple of Jerusalem was the only legitimate place of worship (Deut. xii. 5, xvi. 5, 11, 16, xvii. 8). At that time (622 B. C.) the high-places throughout Judah were suppressed, and the erection of the pillar was expressly forbidden (xvi. 22). From that time forth Israel hardly ever conceived the possibility of sacrificial worship outside the confines of Judah, or indeed beyond those of Jerusalem¹. There is little in this brief section that hinders the assumption that it was written by Isaiah. Even the expression (in verse 21) *sebah uminhah*, rendered 'sacrifice and oblation' (A. V. and R. V.), does not necessarily point to the later period, when *minhah* meant the meal-offering in contradistinction to the *sebah* which signified the slaughtered animal offering. In pre-exilian times this severe distinction did not hold, and *minhah* simply denoted the sacrificial tribute or gift, whether animal or vegetable (Gen. iv. 4, 5 [J]; 1 Sam. ii. 17, xxvi. 19; Jer. xiv. 12). The combination of the two expressions is quite possible in a pre-exilian document, as Amos v. 25 clearly testifies. Previous to 622 B. C. (the date of the Deuteronomic reformation in the days of Josiah) altar and pillar were erected throughout Israel for the worship of Yahweh the national Deity, and the erection of such a sanctuary in Egypt, or at the frontier between Egypt and Judah, would have awakened no misgiving. Egypt at the close of the eighth century (as in the days of

¹ The irregularities referred to in Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 3, when Onias built a temple in Egypt, are merely the record of what was exceptional and sporadic, and cannot be erected into a basis for serious argument in dealing with the question of the age and authorship of this section. See remarks on verse 19.

in the midst of it. And I will stir up the Egyptians 2 against the Egyptians: and they shall fight every one against his brother, and every one against his neighbour; city against city, *and* kingdom against kingdom. And 3 the spirit of Egypt shall be made void in the midst of it; and I will destroy the counsel thereof: and they shall seek unto the idols, and to the charmers, and to them

Jeremiah, see below note on verse 18) was no doubt filled with exiles from Israel and Judah who took refuge in that country during the troubled times of Assyrian invasions, from the days of Tiglath-Pileser to those of Sennacherib (cf. Hos. ix. 3, 6). The spirit of this brief section is in harmony with the large spiritual outlook of the prophet in his closing years reflected in ii. 2-4, xi. 1-9.

(d) The closing fragments of this chapter (verses 23 foll.) belong to a much later time. Probably we may assign them to the Greek period, which immediately followed the death of Alexander. About 320 b. c. Egypt and a portion of Syria became the kingdom ruled over by Ptolemy Lagi. Moreover, we know from Egyptian inscriptions that Syria was called by the name Assyria in those days¹, and it is probable that we should understand the name Assyria in these verses in this sense.

1. The image of Yahweh riding upon a swift cloud resembles the conception of Yahweh riding upon the cherub (*Kerîb*) in the storm-theophany of Ps. xviii. 10 (11 Heb.).

2. *stir up*: more accurately 'spur on.' We have the same verb in the original in ix. 11 (10 Heb.), where it is similarly rendered.

3. *made void*: more literally 'shall be emptied out.' The word for *spirit* here (Heb. *nîah*) simply conveys with greater intensity or energy the ordinary mental functions expressed by 'mind,' 'heart,' 'soul' (*lôh* and *nêfesh*). The national energies of the Egyptians seemed paralysed owing to this Divine visitation. There were several periods in the internal history of Egypt when the kingdom was thus enfeebled by discord. In these conditions of dire national peril, the Egyptians had recourse to the sorcery and necromancy which had prevailed in Egypt for millenniums. See articles 'Magic,' 'Sooth-saying,' and 'Sorcery' in Hastings *DB*.

¹ Brugsch, *Gesch.*, p. 218; Pape, *Wörterbuch der Griech. Eigennamen*, p. 162; Stade, *Zeitsch. für die A-T-lische Wissensch.*, 1882, p. 291 foll.; cited by Dillmann-Kittel in the commentary on *Isaiah* (sixth ed.), p. 171.

4 that have familiar spirits, and to the wizards. And I will give over the Egyptians into the hand of a cruel lord ; and a fierce king shall rule over them, saith the Lord, 5 the LORD of hosts. And the waters shall fail from the 6 sea, and the river shall be wasted and become dry. And the rivers shall stink ; the streams of Egypt shall be minished and dried up : the reeds and flags shall wither 7 away. The meadows by the Nile, by the brink of the Nile, and all that is sown by the Nile, shall become dry, 8 be driven away, and be no more. The fishers also shall lament, and all they that cast angle into the Nile shall mourn, and they that spread nets upon the waters shall 9 languish. Moreover they that work in combed flax, and 10 they that weave white cloth, shall be ashamed. And her

4. The 'hard, despotic lord' may have been Cambyses, or perhaps Xerxes. See introductory remarks to this chapter.

5. shall fail: more exactly 'shall be dried up.'

6. The words rendered *rivers* and also *streams* should be understood in the sense of the canals and watercourses, with which the region of the Nile was endowed from the early days of its civilization. According to Herodotus, ii. 108, Rameses II (Sesōstris, circ. 1300 B.C.) was a great constructor of canals ; see Sir G. Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, i. p. 70, ii. pp. 365, 387 foll. But in the later and degenerate days of Egypt's history, portrayed in this passage, these irrigation works had fallen into neglect, and the canals became dried up.

7. The LXX rendering shows that it is hardly probable that we have the correct text in our Hebrew version at the opening of this verse. It is extremely hazardous to attempt to restore the original. Instead of *brink* we should probably render 'mouth,' with Delitzsch, Dillmann, and Kittel.

8. The fishing industry becomes affected in this time of national supineness and decay. Respecting fishing with nets in ancient Egypt, see Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, i. pp. 291 foll., with representations of the drag-net.

9. Relying on the rendering of Pesh. and Vulg., Pinsker and Luzatto would slightly emend the text of the latter part of the verse, and render 'female combers and male weavers have turned pale,' through the cessation of their industry amid the universal *national decline*. This is not improbably the correct reading.

pillars shall be broken in pieces, all they that work for hire *shall be* grieved in soul. The princes of Zoan are ¹¹ utterly foolish ; the counsel of the wisest counsellors of Pharaoh is become brutish : how say ye unto Pharaoh, I am the son of the wise, the son of ancient kings ? Where ¹² then are thy wise men ? and let them tell thee now ; and let them know what the LORD of hosts hath purposed concerning Egypt. The princes of Zoan are become ¹³ fools, the princes of Noph are deceived ; they have caused Egypt to go astray, that are the corner stone of her tribes. The LORD hath mingled a spirit of perverse- ¹⁴

10. The pillars (or foundations : cf. Ps. xi. 3) refer to the leaders of society, who are the pillars of the state ; cf. Gal. ii. 9. The ancient Hebrews were prone to describe their leaders, or rulers, by these metaphors, such as ‘tent-peg,’ which keeps the tent fixed in its position, Zech. x. 4 ; ‘shield,’ Ps. xlvi. 10 (used in reference to God in Gen. xv. 1 ; Ps. iii. 3, xviii. 2, 30).

11. Render : ‘Only fools are the princes of Zoan.’ Zoan, rightly identified in LXX and Targ. with Tanis, was one of the most ancient cities of Egypt, and goes back, according to Max Müller (*Enc. Bibl.*), to the time of the sixth dynasty. This tradition of its ancient origin is reflected in Num. xiii. 22 (where the ancient origin of Hebron is emphasized by the statement that it was built seven years before Zoan). It is to be identified with the modern Sân, on the right bank of the Tanitic branch of the Nile, ‘in a plain which is at present in summer a marshy prolongation of the Menzaleh lake, in winter a salt desert.’

13. *Nöph* here, as in Jer. ii. 16 ; Ezek. xxx. 13, is the *Möph* of Hos. ix. 6, i. e. Memphis, the celebrated capital of Lower Egypt from the earliest times, situated on the left bank of the Nile just before it branches into the numerous arms of the Delta. We here have the same kind of metaphor as above in verse 10. The pinnacle (rather than **corner stone**) of a house (‘battlement’), in Hebrew *pinnah*, is used here as a collective expression to designate the **heads** of the tribes. By the **tribes** we are to understand the **nomes** into which Egypt was divided, and whose rivalries and insurrectionary movements were a fruitful cause of internal weakness, to which reference is made above in verse 2. The rendering of the R. V. requires to be amended to make it intelligible : ‘Egypt the heads of her nomes have led astray,’ i. e. Egypt is betrayed to her ruin by her so-called leaders.

ness in the midst of her : and they have caused Egypt to go astray in every work thereof, as a drunken man
 15 staggereth in his vomit. Neither shall there be for Egypt any work, which head or tail, palm-branch or rush,
 may do.

16 In that day shall Egypt be like unto women : and it shall tremble and fear because of the shaking of the hand
 17 of the LORD of hosts, which he shaketh over it. And the land of Judah shall become a terror unto Egypt, every one to whom mention is made thereof shall be afraid, because of the purpose of the LORD of hosts, which he purposeth against it.

18 In that day there shall be five cities in the land of

14. in **every work thereof**: i. e. 'in all its doing'; the latter would be a preferable rendering. For **staggereth** it would be better to read (with R. V. marg.) 'goeth astray,' since the same verb is employed in the Hebrew as in the preceding clause.

15. Once more we meet with metaphors resembling in character those of verses 10 and 13. The phraseology seems to be borrowed from ix. 13. The metaphors represent all the varying ranks of society, and may have been proverbial.

Verses 16-25. We now come to the series of prophetic fragments, all bearing upon the destiny of Egypt. On verses 16 and 17 see introductory remarks to this chapter. The situation is evidently one of hostility between Egypt and Judah, the former feeling dread of the latter. It is extremely difficult to fix historically the situation here described. It evidently belongs to post-exilian times, when Egyptian power had sunk to a low ebb. The unusual and Aramaic form of the word for **terror** (verse 17) clearly points to this conclusion.

18. Another fragment succeeds, evidently belonging to the post-exilian period, viz. the days of the Persian domination, when Hebrew still continued to be the language of Canaan and a large number of Jews had settled in the Egyptian towns. Even in the days of Jeremiah a vast number had fled for refuge to Egypt (Jer. xlii. 14, xliv)¹, and the number had probably been

¹ Duhm in his commentary on Jer. xliv. 1 doubts this, but historical probabilities are all in its favour. Already, in the days of Hosea (ix. 3, 6), there was a drift of Hebrew population to Egypt.

Egypt that speak the language of Canaan, and swear to the LORD of hosts ; one shall be called The city of destruction.

greatly augmented in the exilian period. Hitzig even ventures to name the five cities as Heliopolis, Leontopolis, Migdol, Daphne, and Memphis. Two of these towns specially mentioned in Jer. xliv. 1, viz. *Migdol* (cf. xlvi. 14 and Ezek. xxix. 10) or *Magdolon* near Pelusium, which Max Müller (in *Enc. Bibl.*) identifies with Tell es Semût, and *Môph* or *Memphis* (see above, on verse 13), might be included among these five which the prophet here had in his mind and Hitzig specifies (cf. Hos. ix. 6). We might also accept another town in Hitzig's list, viz. *Daphne*, if we can identify this place with the *Tahpanhès* of Jer. xliv. 1 (see Max Müller, article 'Tahpanhes' in *Enc. Bibl.*). It is perilous to go further than this.

The city of destruction—the name given to one of the cities—has been a fruitful subject of controversy. The Hebrew original Heres (A. V. and R. V. marg.) is a substantive which is found only in this passage, and, according to the meaning of the corresponding Semitic verb (Hebrew and Arabic, also Moabite Stone, l. 27) which is specially used of destroying walls, houses, and towns, would naturally have the meaning which is assigned to it, 'destruction¹'. But the reading is doubtful, and several alternatives lie before us.

(1) Sixteen Hebrew MSS. contain the reading sustained by the versions Symm., Vulg., and the Targ., as well as the Jewish commentator Saadia, viz. Heres 'sun' (Judges xiv. 18; Job ix. 7) instead of Heres. The orthographic change is of the slightest. Accordingly we render : 'City of the Sun,' i. e. Heliopolis. This is the interpretation adopted by Hitzig and supported by Cheyne, and certainly possesses considerable claim to probability. This city was celebrated for its temple of the Sun, whence its Greek name. Its Semitic name Ôn (Assyrian *Unu* in Asurbanipal's inscription) was based on the original Egyptian name. 'On-Heliopolis, situated very near the southern end of the Delta, east of the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, was perhaps the oldest city of Egypt' (article 'On' in *Enc. Bibl.*).

¹ We put aside the interpretation 'lion,' suggested by the Arabic epithet of a lion (*hâris*, participle of *harasa* 'devour'). On this far-fetched view of the meaning is based the identification of this city with *Leontopolis* (so Duhm and Marti). Yet it was not to this verse but to the following that Onias IV appealed, as will be shown in the commentary on verse 19.

19 [I?] In that day shall there be an altar to the LORD in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the

If we adopt this reading we must regard it as most probable that this verse originated in Egypt rather than Palestine.

(2) Another reading is suggested to us by the LXX, in whose text there stood 'city of righteousness.' The LXX reading proves that in the original text there stood the Hebrew word for righteousness (*sedek*). In later times an Egyptian scribe altered this word to *heres* in allusion to Heliopolis. Subsequent copyists, actuated by hostile feelings to the Egyptian community, altered this word to *herem*, 'curse,' or *heres*, 'destruction.' This seems to us the most probable theory of the genesis of the different readings.

Verses 19-22 constitute a pre-exilian, not improbably an Isaianic fragment, at all events pre-Deuteronomic (see introductory remarks to this chapter).

19. *at the border*: more correctly '*beside* or *close to* the border.' To this verse (not to verse 18) Onias appealed in support of his project for erecting a temple at Leontopolis in the days of Ptolemy Philometor, and with his sanction (160 b. c.). The Deuteronomic legislation (623 b. c.) and that of the Priestly Code (b. c. 500-400), which presupposes the former, prohibited such an enterprise, since Jerusalem was the only legitimate centre of worship. Onias therefore based his claim upon a passage earlier than both the above-mentioned codes. This certainly seems the most natural conclusion which we can draw, when we remember that not only the Jews from Jerusalem, but also the Samaritans who worshipped in Mount Gerizim, viewed this new Egyptian sanctuary with feelings of bitter hostility (Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, vii. 10. 3; *Antiq.* xiii. 3. 4).

And yet Duhm propounds the extraordinary theory that this entire section, verses 16-25, was inserted about this time (160 b. c.) in Isaiah's oracles. How this was possible under the conditions above described, and how these verses 19-22 could have been permanently accepted as an integral part of Scripture, it is difficult to imagine. But by Duhm this difficulty is not felt, for he boldly proceeds to erect a large inference upon his theory, as though it were a clearly demonstrated fact. 'The fact that an oracle composed after 160 b. c. could find its way into the Book of Isaiah is for every unprejudiced student a certain proof that this book was compiled at a late date.'

The *pillar* here is not to be regarded merely as monumental, and therefore not possessing a religious significance, i. e. as the Hebrew equivalent for the Egyptian obelisk (so Kittel and

border thereof to the LORD. And it shall be for a sign 20 and for a witness unto the LORD of hosts in the land of Egypt : for they shall cry unto the LORD because of the oppressors, and he shall send them a saviour, and a defender, and he shall deliver them. And the LORD shall 21 be known to Egypt, and the Egyptians shall know the LORD in that day ; yea, they shall worship with sacrifice and oblation, and shall vow a vow unto the LORD, and shall perform it. And the LORD shall smite Egypt, smiting 22 and healing ; and they shall return unto the LORD, and he shall be intreated of them, and shall heal them.

Skinner, cf. Jer. xlivi. 13), but as the *stone-symbol of deity*. That it was intended here to have a religious significance is clear from the preceding parallel clause in which the *altar* is mentioned.

20. If we assign these verses to the prophet Isaiah, we may regard them as referring to the same conditions as those to which xviii. 4-6 allude. The **oppressors** therefore would obviously apply to the Assyrians from whom God would deliver the Egyptians.

Instead of **for they shall cry** render ‘when they cry.’ ‘When they cry, He will send them a deliverer, and He will contend and deliver them.’ The form *rāb*, rendered ‘great (mighty) one’ in A. V. and R. V. (marg.), should be treated as a verb and translated ‘contend’ or ‘combat.’

21. For **be known** read with R. V. marg. ‘make Himself known.’ Disciplinary chastisement shall work a moral restoration. The smiting shall result in healing (verse 22).

Verses 23 foll. belong to a much later period ; see introductory remarks to this chapter. The standpoint is wholly different from that of verses 16, 17, where the attitude of Judah to Egypt was intensely hostile and Yahweh shakes his hand over the latter (contrast verse 24). It equally differs from that of verses 19-22, where Egypt is described as suffering from oppressors and cries for deliverance, which is to be vouchsafed after a period of disciplinary chastisement and moral renewal (“they shall return unto the Lord”). In verses 23 foll., on the other hand, we are placed under conditions of assured peace in Egypt under the Greek dominion of one of the successors of Alexander. Not improbably these verses emanated from an Egyptian Jew.

- 23 [PE] In that day shall there be a high way out of Egypt to Assyria, and the Assyrian shall come into Egypt, and the Egyptian into Assyria ; and the Egyptians shall worship with the Assyrians.
- 24 In that day shall Israel be the third with Egypt and
25 with Assyria, a blessing in the midst of the earth : for that the LORD of hosts hath blessed them, saying, Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of my hands, and Israel mine inheritance.

23. The Hebrew would seem to favour the rendering ‘the Egyptians shall serve Assyria,’ and this interpretation is given by LXX, Pesh., Vulg., as well as Targ., and in modern times by the commentator Hitzig. It would be impossible, however, to assign any definite meaning to such a clause under the historic conditions of post-exilian times, when Assyria as an empire had disappeared, and when, as has been indicated above (p. 229 and footnote), it became the name for Syria in Egyptian documents at the close of the fourth century B. C. Moreover, in verse 24 Egypt, Israel, and Syria stand on an equal footing. Accordingly the only possible rendering is that of A. V. and R. V. ‘shall serve [Yahweh] *with* Assyria’ [=Syria].

24. For *with Egypt and with Assyria* read ‘unto (*or for*) Egypt and unto (*or for*) Assyria.’ *Israel* (in verse 17 we only read of *Judah*), though it shares its privileges and titles with Egypt and Syria, still retains the pre-eminent position of being both the spiritual as well as the physical bond of union. The latter it had been for many centuries, for Palestine was the natural highway of commerce as well as of war between north and south as well as between north-east and south-west (see article ‘War’ in *Enc. Bibl., ad init.*), on account of its geographical position and comparative fertility. But the *former* it was not destined to become till long after the Exile. It was the Deutero-Isaiah who first heralded Israel’s great vocation of being ‘a light unto the Gentiles, to be God’s salvation unto the earth’s bound’ (xlix. 6)¹. It is through Christianity that this great vocation is being fulfilled and the religion of Yahweh is rescued from the trammels of nationalism and established as a universal religion. ‘The way’ began in Jerusalem (Acts i. 8 : cf. verse 4).

¹ Yet even this was but an echo, or rather a clearer and fuller presentation, of conceptions found in the pre-exilian Yahwistic writer of Gen. xii. 3, xxvi. 4 and the Isaianic utterance in Isa. ii. 2-4.

[I] In the year that Tartan came unto Ashdod, when 20 Sargon the king of Assyria sent him, and he fought

CHAPTER XX.

We now come again to a genuine record of the prophet himself or one of his immediate disciples; describing (like viii. 1-4) a symbolic act which he was commanded by Yahweh to perform and whose prophetic significance is explained. The date is clearly fixed for us by the opening verse and by the discovery of Sargon's annals. The capture of Ashdod, to which verse 1 refers, is recorded in Sargon's great Khorsabad inscription (*Botta* 149. 6 foll.), in which he describes the seizure of the town from Azuri, an obstinate enemy of Assyrian rule and a centre of disaffection. See Schrader's *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the O. T.*, vol. ii. pp. 89 foll. (The passage may be found in Schrader's *Keilinschrifliche Bibliothek*, vol. ii. pp. 65-67; ll. 90-109 from the great Khorsabad inscription, which is there transcribed in its entirety.) From Sargon's inscription we learn that not only Ashdod but also Gath was taken and plundered by the Assyrian soldiery. This event we are able to fix with precision in the year 711 B.C.

This is the only occasion when Sargon's name is mentioned in the O.T. He is called *Sarrukin* in the Assyrian language, reigned from 722 to 705 B.C., and was one of the greatest military leaders that Assyria ever produced¹.

¹ The cuneiform records call him the later or 'second' Sargon (*Sarrukin arku*), i.e. Sargon II, to distinguish him from Sargon I the king of Accad, who reigned circ. 3800 B.C. The name means '[God] has established the king' = Sar-ukin, rather than Sarru kinu = 'Firm (steadfast) is the king' (Schrader, *Cuneiform Inscriptions, &c.*, ii. p. 83). A brief conspectus of the chief events of his reign will be found in *KAT*.³ (given by Winckler), pp. 63-75. Respecting Philistia and the events 713-11 B.C., see pp. 68 foll. There is a discrepancy in reference to the date of the overthrow of Ashdod in the different cuneiform documents. According to the annals the overthrow of the insurrectionary movement of Azuri king of Ashdod took place in the eleventh year of Sargon's reign, but according to the fragments of a clay prism which have been discovered, this occurred in the ninth year. The Assyrians were specially careful in marking dates by their eponyms in the official canons of rulers (see Introduction, p. 79 foll.). Accordingly an attempt has been made to reconcile the two traditions, by referring them to the two dates for Sargon's accession. His *actual* accession took place in 722-1 B.C., but the *official* year of his accession was reckoned from his eponym-year in 719 B.C. Thus in both traditions the year 711 B.C. for Ashdod's overthrow is intended. Winckler, on the other hand, thinks that the difference arises because

2 against Ashdod and took it; at that time the LORD spake by Isaiah the son of Amoz, saying, Go, and loose the sackcloth from off thy loins, and put thy shoe from off thy foot. And he did so, walking naked and barefoot. 3 And the LORD said, Like as my servant Isaiah hath walked naked and barefoot three years for a sign

1. The word **Tartan** is a Hebrew loan-word, an official military title borrowed from the Assyrian language. The Assyrian word *turtānu* means the commander-in-chief, and his official position ranked next to that of the king, for in the lists of eponym-officials who in Assyria gave the name to the year, we find that of the *turtānu* (or *tariānu*) coming next to that of the king. Cuneiform scholars regard the form *turtānu* as more correct: see Schrader, *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the O. T.*, vol. i. p. 262 footnote, and glossary in vol. ii; cf. *KAT.*², p. 273 footnote 3. The word is never employed in the O. T. except to designate the *Assyrian* military commander-in-chief, just as in English 'Kaiser' is only used to designate a *German* emperor. Cf. 2 Kings xviii. 17, the only other passage where it occurs.

2. It is not necessary to regard this parenthesis as a later and editorial interpolation. Some statement like this is necessary in order to explain verse 3. The expression **at that time** must not be pressed too strictly, and corresponds to the beginning of the three or less preliminary years before the final overthrow in 721 B.C.

The **sackcloth** means in the original a garment made of some hairy material. It was the garb assumed by ascetics and those who pursued the prophetic calling. It was placed around the loins (as here and 1. Kings xx. 32), and was especially worn as a sign of mourning (Isa. iii. 24, &c.). Of course the expression **naked** can only be understood in a relative sense, as in John xxi. 7. The word is employed to mean that the outer garment was not worn, but only the upper tunic or *kuttoneth* corresponding to the Greek *chitón* (see *Primer of Hebrew Antiquities*, pp. 45 foll.).

3. The rendering of A. V. and R. V. 'sign and wonder' is in accordance with the undoubtedly meaning of the original in Deut. iv. 34, vii. 19, &c., where the two substantives are combined in

the reference of the clay prism is to the *beginning* of the effort to suppress the insurrectionary movement, and of the annals to its *final overthrow*. The insurrection lasted altogether three years, which the prophet spent 'naked and barefoot' (xx. 3); see *KAT.*³, p. 69 foll., and cf. Winckler's *Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen*, pp. 142 foll.

and a wonder upon Egypt and upon Ethiopia ; so shall 4
the king of Assyria lead away the captives of Egypt, and
the exiles of Ethiopia, young and old, naked and barefoot,
and with buttocks uncovered, to the shame of Egypt. 5
And they shall be dismayed and ashamed, because of
Ethiopia their expectation, and of Egypt their glory.

the plural. This rendering is given here by the LXX. But the latter substantive (*mōphēth*) is here, as well as in Isa. viii. 18, Zech. iii. 8, more correctly translated ‘premonition’ or ‘type’. Accordingly translate here : ‘sign and premonition concerning Egypt and concerning Ethiopia.’

4. The indignity here described scarcely ever meets us portrayed on Egyptian monuments, and scarcely ever on Assyrian. It is obviously something rare and exceptional.

5. *Cūsh*, which is the *expectation* (or ‘hope’) of the revolting Philistine towns, has been usually identified with Ethiopia ; while the word in the original, *Misraim*, *their glory* (or ‘pride’), has been regarded as the name for Egypt. It would not be safe to abandon this view for that which has within recent years been advanced with considerable ingenuity by Winckler and advocated in the *KAT.*³, p. 71, that Misraim here is to be identified with a North-Arabian territory called *Musrān*¹ (= Midian) lying close to Edom, while *Cūsh* lay south of this in the western portion of Arabia (see the remarks in the Introduction upon this theory of Winckler, footnote, p. 17 foll.). Egypt was at this time weak through internal disorders, and was therefore a feeble prop for Philistine rebels against Assyrian domination to rest upon (xxxii. 1-3; cf. xxxvi. 6). Nevertheless there were signs visible of a recovery of strength in Egypt, and in a few years the advent of the twenty-fifth or Ethiopian dynasty under Shabako (circ. 708 B.C.) began to raise hopes among the Palestinian population (see article ‘Egypt’ in *Enc. Bibl.*)².

¹ See Hommel, *Aufsätze u. Abhandlungen*, iii. p. 306. This writer is a dangerous ally, and goes far beyond Winckler in his identifications of the Hebrew name for Egypt (*Misraim*) and of Ethiopia (*Cūsh*) with regions in North-Western Arabia. The list of passages to which Winckler applies his theory is given by him in *KAT.*³, pp. 146, 147.

² In a parallel account of the campaign against Ashdod derived from the fragments discovered by Geo. Smith of a prism inscription we read : ‘The people of Philistia, Judah, and Moab, who dwell by the sea, tributary to Ashur, my lord, plotted hostilities . . . in order to raise

6 And the inhabitant of this coastland shall say in that day, Behold, such is our expectation, whither we fled for help to be delivered from the king of Assyria: and we, how shall we escape?

21 [R] The burden of the wilderness of the sea.

6. The word **inhabitant** (singular) is a literal rendering. It is, however, employed as a collective term for 'inhabitants.' The 'inhabitants of the coastland' was a phrase used in current parlance for all the peoples of this Palestinian region, including those of Judah, Edom, and Moab, as well as Philistia. The prophet therefore obviously includes his own countrymen. Kittel cites an apposite passage from the fragment of a prism inscription of Sargon (see footnote) which speaks of the allies of Jamani of Ashdod, viz. Philistines, Jews, Edomites, and Moabites, as 'dwellers by the sea' (ll. 29, 30. The citation is given in Schrader, *KIB.*, ii. p. 64, footnote). All these peoples who looked to Egypt and Ethiopia for support will find their expectations illusory.

CHAPTER XXI.

Oracle on the doom of Babylon (verses 1-10). Attempts have been made by commentators in recent times to vindicate the Isaianic origin of this passage on the basis of the Assyrian inscriptions. The capture of Babylon to which this oracle refers

enmity against me, brought their gifts of homage (?) to Piru king of Mušri, a prince who could not deliver them . . . See *KIB.*, ii. pp. 64 foll. (footnote), and Winckler's *Keilschrifttexte Sargon's*, pp. 188 foll. Here the Piru, king of Mušri, is evidently the ruler of the North-Arabian territory, probably the same *Pir'u* who is mentioned along with other Arabian potentates as tributary to Sargon in the great Khorsabad inscription, l. 27. (*Sib'i* or *Seveh* was his commander-in-chief.) This passage is important as showing that Judah was then co-operating with other Palestinian states in throwing off the yoke of Assyria. But it is difficult to say how far it was involved. No serious consequences to Hezekiah followed. It is obvious that the policy of Ahaz was no longer sustained with the same vigour. Probably Hezekiah's movements at this time were cautious. In our opinion it would be an error to identify the reference of Isaiah's oracle with the negotiations which were carried on with the North-Arabian ruler; and also an error to exaggerate the significance of the reference to Judah in the above-cited fragment. Probably the capture of Ashdod warned Hezekiah how far he might go in abandoning the policy of his father.

[Ex.] As whirlwinds in the South sweep through, it cometh from the wilderness, from a terrible land. A 2

has been identified with the conquest of that city by Sargon in 710-709 B.C., which ended in the 'dethronement as well as imprisonment of Merodach-Baladan its king, and the destruction by fire of the city Dür-Jakfn into which he had besaken himself for refuge' (*COT*, ii. p. 25). A vivid and full description of these operations in the campaign against Merodach-Baladan is given in the *Keilinsch. Bibliothek*, vol. ii. p. 68 foll.; ll. 122-44 in the great Khorsabad inscription). But there are serious objections to this identification, since (1) in verse 2 Elam and Media are represented as the foes of Babylon who bring about its downfall, but the conditions in the year 710 were utterly different. Sargon was the relentless foe, while Elam was the ally and not the enemy of Merodach-Baladan, who, as we learn from the Khorsabad inscription, l. 123, 'had summoned Humbanigash of Elam to his aid.' On the other hand, not a syllable is said about Assyria in this prophetic oracle. (2) The language can scarcely be regarded as Isaianic. It is true that a few expressions are those of the prophet Isaiah, yet there are others which are unquestionably strange to his vocabulary.

The historic situation here presupposed is obviously that of 549-539 B.C., the decennium when Cyrus was rapidly extending his dominion to the east of Babylonia. Cyrus had already established his power in Anshān or the north-east part of Elam, and in 549 had conquered Media. We have already shown on xiii. 17 that the Medes acquired great historic importance in the sixth century. Like the Persians they were Indo-Germanic, and took part in the capture of Babylon in 538 B.C.

1. The superscription to the oracle is very enigmatic, like the other superscriptions in this chapter. It is difficult to determine what 'oracle respecting the sea-desert' can mean. In the cuneiform inscriptions South Babylonia was called 'land of the sea' (*máti Tiám̄tim*), since it was situated near the Persian Gulf. Babylon itself, including its district (North Babylonia), was not so named. Perhaps, indeed, the prophet uses the expression (which may have been current among the Jews in exile) to include North as well as South Babylonia. There is much uncertainty, however, as to the original text. The LXX omit all reference to sea, and appear not to have had the original Hebrew word for it in their texts. Its omission, however, does not make the sense any clearer. Perhaps we ought to take the word *wilderness* or 'desert' as standing in apposition to the word 'oracle.' 'The oracle "desert"' might then have reference to the word 'wilderness' or 'desert' which occurs early in the oracle. We frequently

grievous vision is declared unto me; the treacherous dealer dealeth treacherously, and the spoiler spoileth. Go up, O Elam ; besiege, O Media ; all the sighing thereof have I made to cease. Therefore are my loins filled with

meet with sections of the O. T., especially in the Pentateuch, which are specially designated by some striking word which comes in the first verse. The names in Hebrew of the several books of the Pentateuch as well as of the Sabbath portions (read in the synagogue and called *Parshiyoth*), which are indicated in our Hebrew Bibles, are all designated from the initial words or some characteristic expression in the opening verse. Render the opening verse :—

‘As whirlwinds—in the south sweeping on,
From the desert it comes—from a terrible land.’

The word for the **South** or ‘South country’ is in the original *negebh*, and is a term which specially designates the land south of Palestine (called by the ancient Egyptians *negbu*). The writer of this oracle evidently speaks from the experience of a Palestinian inhabitant who knew well what these storms blowing up from the south or land of Edom (Zech. ix. 14 : cf. Judges v. 4 and Hab. iii. 3) actually were. The ‘desert’ here has been taken to mean the Syrian desert which intervenes between Babylonia and Canaan. Beyond the desert lies Babylonia, ‘the terrible land’—terrible on account of the scenes which are shortly to be enacted there. This is the view adopted by Duhm and Marti (and previously by Nägelsbach and Orelli). There are, however, commentators who hold that the Hebrew word for ‘desert’ (or wilderness) here means the level country lying south-east of the Tigris which separates Elam from Babylonia. This seems more in consonance with the known facts of history, for this was the direction from which the conquerors of Babylon actually came (so Kittel and Skinner).

2. The most idiomatic rendering would be : ‘As a vision grim ’twas announced to me’ (Marti). What follows is the utterance of Yahweh through the lips of the prophet-seer. The expression **sighing thereof**, or ‘mourning over it,’ is the correct rendering of the Hebrew original, but the meaning is vague, and attempts have been made to reconstruct the text. We gain no assistance in this direction from the LXX, who seem to have translated a corrupted text. It would, therefore, be wisest to adhere to our Hebrew original, and to understand the ‘mourning over it’ to be the lamentation over the destruction of Babylon to which the *entire passage* evidently bears reference. Even the voice of *mourning* is stilled in the universal silence of desolation.

anguish ; pangs have taken hold upon me, as the pangs of a woman in travail : I am pained so that I cannot hear ; I am dismayed so that I cannot see. My heart ⁴ panteth, horror hath affrighted me : the twilight that I desired hath been turned into trembling unto me. They ⁵ prepare the table, they set the watch, they eat, they drink : rise up, ye princes, anoint the shield. For thus ⁶ hath the Lord said unto me, Go, set a watchman ; let

3. The anguish here is properly the cramping or convulsive pains of childbirth which the parallel clause clearly expresses. We note here a more sympathetic spirit among the Jews of Babylonia in the prospective downfall of the kingdom than that which is manifested in the Deutero-Isaiah. The range of vision exhibited in these verses is more contracted. The writer can see nothing beyond the ruins of Babylon. In the Deutero-Isaiah noble vistas for the Jewish race, the restored exile community, are disclosed. We are placed at a later stage in the historical development. The personality and policy of Cyrus are well known, as chap. xlv clearly shows.

4. **panteth**: better 'fainteth.' 'The twilight of my pleasure,' the cool evening with its refreshing breeze coming after the heat of the day, brings no solace with it, but only panic.

5. A vivid picture follows. We are somewhat reminded of the scenes of evening revelry, prolonged till dawn in the houses of the wealthy men of Jerusalem, portrayed by Isaiah in chap. v. xi. Cf. the earlier passage in Amos vi. 1 foll. descriptive of Samaria. But here we are transported to a different scene and time : Babylon in the year 545 B.C. or thereabouts. 'The table is set in array, the coverlet spread¹, there is eating and drinking.' But amid the revelry comes the warning cry, **Up, ye princes, anoint the shield.** The anointing of the shield with oil was to keep it bright and smooth (cf. 2 Sam. i. 21), perhaps in order to enable the arrows or darts of the enemy to glance off.

6. The word **For** evidently refers back to the 'stern' or 'grim vision' of verse 2, the contents of which are now given. There is no need to make any alteration in the punctuation of our Hebrew

¹ This is probably the correct rendering, and harmonizes best with the context. Targum and Peshitto translate 'They set the watch,' and are followed by Gesenius and Delitzsch. But this interpretation is not well adapted to the words that follow. The LXX omit the rendering of the two Hebrew words in question. See the useful illustrative footnote in Cheyne's *Introduction to Isaiah*, p. 126.

7 him declare what he seeth : and when he seeth a troop, horsemen in pairs, a troop of asses, a troop of camels, he
 8 shall hearken diligently with much heed. And he cried as a lion : O Lord, I stand continually upon the watch-tower in the day-time, and am set in my ward whole
 9 nights : and, behold, here cometh a troop of men, horsemen in pairs. And he answered and said, Babylon is

text, so as to render 'Take your stand as watchman,' as Buhl suggests, or 'Take your stand on the watch-tower,' as Stade proposes. We have here an example of the divided self of prophetic ecstasy of which Ezek. viii. 1-3, xi. 24 foll., furnish vivid examples. The other self is transported to some spot, where the scenes depicted in verses 7-9, which immediately follow, are conveyed to the passive or recipient self of the prophet who announces the vision he has beheld as the message he has heard from Yahweh (verse 10)¹.

7. For **troop** read 'cavalcade' (i.e. as the Hebrew word indicates, a procession of chariots and horsemen, as well as asses and camels, &c.). The seer beholds the advancing army of Medes and Elamites, who are about to attack Babylon.

8. The word **lion** in our Hebrew text is obviously due to corruption. Read, with Duhm : 'See, upon the watch-tower, Lord, I continuously stand by day ; and on my sentry guard I take my stand through all the nights.'

9. Once more the procession of chariots, horsemen, riders on asses and camel-drivers, but this time it is a triumphal procession, and the message of doom goes forth, **Babylon is fallen !** This

¹ The language of verse 10, taken in connexion with verse 6 foll., render this view of the passage (which is that of Duhm and Marti) necessary as an adequate explanation. Kittel, however, rejects it, and urges that 'just as the king or general does not gain his information direct, but appoints a second subordinate person as watchman who conveys it to him (2 Sam. xviii. 24 foll. ; 2 Kings ix. 17 foll.), so also the prophet in the vision' ; this, however, reduces the entire passage to matter-of-fact prose, and verse 10 hardly seems in place. Kittel quotes Hab. ii. 1 foll. as parallel, but in this oracle Habakkuk speaks of *himself* as the watchman and not of 'a second or subordinate person.' Lastly, Kittel argues that 'Isaiah does not know this form [i.e. the divided personality of ecstatic vision] ; it is only the result of a prolonged prophetic refinement of practice (*Technik*).'
This is hardly consistent with Kittel's express denial of Isaianic authorship on a previous page.

fallen, is fallen ; and all the graven images of her gods are broken unto the ground. O thou my threshing, and 10 the corn of my floor : that which I have heard from the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel, have I declared unto you.

[R] The burden of Dumah.

11

passage finds its echo in Rev. xiv. 8, xviii. 2, where Babylon is typical of all anti-Christian influences. It was certainly the historic centre of magic practices. The destruction of the idol-images of the patron-deities of a nation was the natural corollary to the overthrow of the state over which they were lords and patrons (cf. Isa. ii. 20 foll., xlvi. 1 foll.).

10. Render : 'O my trodden one—child of my threshing-floor.' We have here the agricultural metaphor of the threshing-floor on which the corn was trodden out. As to the processes employed, see *Hebrew Antiquities* (R.T.S.), pp. 91 foll., and illustration. The simile was not infrequently employed to describe vividly the afflicted condition of a race : Mic. iv. 12 foll. ; Isa. xli. 15 ; Jer. li. 33 ; cf. Amos i. 3, and 2 Kings xiii. 7.

The Oracle of Dumah (verses 11, 12). A brief and obscure oracle, whose obscurity partly arises from the brevity. The condition of Edom at the time appears to have been a dark one, but more than this we do not know. Are we to regard this section as belonging to the exilian period, just as the previous oracle ? The Aramaisms which occur render it scarcely probable that it could have been composed by Isaiah. On the other hand, it does not therefore necessarily belong to the Exile period. It may have been composed earlier than the days of Isaiah, and, like chap. xv, have been adopted by him into the collection of his oracles (so Ewald). But this seems hardly probable, and the period of the Exile seems on the whole to be actually the time to which we ought to assign it¹.

¹ We might infer this from the fact to which Nöldeke draws attention (article 'Edom' in *Enc. Bibl.*), that the 'exilian and post-exilian prophets denounce the Edomites in no measured terms' (Ezek. xxv. 12-14, xxxv. 14, xxxvi. 3; Obad.; Lam. iv. 21; Isa. xxxiv, lxiii. 1-6; Ps. cxxxvii. 7; Mal. i. 2-5). This was largely owing to the attitude of Edom when Judah was overthrown by Nebuchadnezzar, and Judaean territory was occupied by the Edomites.

Both Duhm and Marti assign the oracle to the same date and author as the preceding section (verses 1-10). In both we have special mention of the watchman, and in both the spot from which the

[Ex.?] One calleth unto me out of Seir, Watchman,
what of the night? Watchman, what of the night? The
watchman said, The morning cometh, and also the night:
if ye will inquire, inquire ye: turn ye, come.

11. The name *Dūmah* is mysterious. There were several spots of this name, one of which lay in Haurān, and is therefore altogether improbable. On the other hand, we find a Dumat el Jandal (el Jofs) in a rocky valley on the frontiers of Syria and Arabia (cf. Gen. xxv. 14). Thus Gesenius and Hitzig have sought to identify the name here with this spot. But these local identifications would probably lead us far astray. We are on safer ground when we follow the hint of the LXX τῆς Ἰδουμαίας, and find here a reference to Edom (called in ancient Egyptian *Aduma*, in Assyrian *Udumu*). *Dūmah* in Hebrew means 'silence,' and we may have here either one of those punning references so frequent in the O. T. (cf. Gen. xxix. 31—xxx. 24 *passim*) or a corruption of the name *Edom*.

Seir (*lit.* 'hairy') is the name of a mountain region, often used interchangeably with Edom. Render: 'To me there calls one from Seir, Watchman, how far has the night gone?' The night was divided into three watches by the ancient Hebrews (the Greeks and Romans had four), viz. from sunset till 10 p.m. the first watch (Lam. ii. 19), a 'middle watch' from 10 p.m. to 2 a.m. (Judges vii. 19), and lastly, 'the morning watch' from 2 a.m. till sunrise (Exod. xiv. 24).

The night here is a vivid metaphor, conveying the conception of depression as well as anxiety and uncertainty as to the future. The time we may surmise to be the close of the middle watch, or the beginning of the third. The inhabitants of Edom may have been disturbed by news of the uprising of the Medes, and the growing weakness of the Babylonian empire.

12. What does morning here portend? Evidently the reverse of darkness, i.e. prosperity, hope, and a clear outlook. But prosperity for whom? For the Jews, or for the Edomites whose

oracle is uttered seems to be Palestinian. There is also a general resemblance in dramatic style and tone of thought. These grounds, however, are too slight a foundation for a definite theory. Unfortunately we possess no information as to the fortunes of Edom in the period 549–539 B.C. It is to be noted that the tone of bitterness which characterizes the Ezekiel passages (circ. 580 B.C.) and Isa. xxxiv, lxiii. 1–6 (post-exilian) is here subdued. This is not inconsistent with the date 549–539 B.C. as the probable period to which this brief oracle might be assigned.

[R] The burden upon Arabia.

13

[I?] In the forest in Arabia shall ye lodge, O ye travelling

respective interests might be regarded as antagonistic? The tantalizing brevity of the oracle leaves us in uncertainty. There is indeed a remaining possibility that the voice which cries to the watchman comes from one of the large body of Jewish refugees who fled into Edom when Jerusalem was destroyed by Nebuchadrezzar (*Jer. xl. 11*). The 'morning' would then mean the morning which would bring light and hope to the Jew. Yet the future is uncertain. The shadows of night follow.

Oracle 'in the steppe' (verses 13-17). Here again, as in the case of verses 1-10, the title is derived from one of the characteristic opening words of the oracle. The word '*Arāb*', rendered 'steppe,' is used as a collective term for the *people*, inhabitants of the Arabian steppes, in *2 Chron. ix. 14*, and this corresponds with the present use of the same word in Arabia for 'people' (*Doughty, Arabia Deserta*, i. p. 224). That the word should be rendered here by 'steppe' seems fairly clear from the like use of the corresponding feminine word '*arābah*' (*Isa. xxxiii. 9, xxxvi; Jer. ii. 6, &c.*). By assigning a different vowel-punctuation to the same characters the word is read '*ereb*', 'evening,' by LXX, Targ., Pesh., and Vulg., and the ancient versions have been followed by a whole array of modern expositors, including Hitzig, Cheyne, Kuenen, and Guthe (see R. V. marg.). The expression that follows, *shall ye lodge* (*i.e.* 'pass the night'), gives an apparent plausibility to this reading. But apart from this it has no appropriateness.

We have no data for determining the time of the oracle. The 'drawn sword,' the 'bent bow,' and the 'grievous war' in verse 15 may refer to Tiglath-Pileser's or Sargon's military expeditions. The cuneiform inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III refer to the tribute paid by Zabibiye, queen of the Arabs in 738 B.C., and by Samsiye in 734. The latter also paid tribute to Sargon in 720 and 715 B.C., and a similar act of vassalage was performed by It'amar king of the Sabaeans (*Schrader, COT.*, i pp. 245, 247 foll., ii. p. 88). But whether the 'drawn sword' and the 'stress of war' of which mention is made in verse 15 can be construed as a reference to the campaigns conducted by the Assyrians in the latter half of the eighth century is most uncertain. And our uncertainty is increased when we ask the question, who the 'thirsty' and the 'refugees' fleeing from the sword are. The obvious answer is that they are the caravans of the Dedanites, driven by the invader from the ordinary caravan routes, and the wells which mark their several stages, who are thus harassed with hunger and thirst. It is possible that among the Dedanites there were refugees from Judah, under the stress of Assyrian or perhaps

14 companies of Dedanites. Unto him that was thirsty they brought water ; the inhabitants of the land of Tema 15 did meet the fugitives with their bread. For they fled away from the swords, from the drawn sword, and from 16 the bent bow, and from the grievousness of war. For thus hath the Lord said unto me, Within a year, according to the years of an hireling, and all the glory of 17 Kedar shall fail : and the residue of the number of the

(in the closing years of the seventh century) of Babylonian invasion. The Aramaic word for 'bring' (like the word for 'come' in verse 12) in the Hebrew original makes the Isaianic authorship somewhat doubtful, though more than this cannot be said. It might indeed be pre-Isaianic.

13-14. Translate in accordance with R. V. (marg.) :—

'In the thickets, in the steppe shall ye pass the night,—ye caravans of Dedanites.'

To meet the thirsty one, bring water,—ye dwellers in the land of Temā,

With his bread [i. e. the bread he needs] greet the fugitive . . .'

'Thicket' or 'bush' seems to be the best translation of the Hebrew. It is possible, however, that we have here the Arabic word *wa'r*, meaning a stony rock-strewn waste. The *Dedanites* were a trading race of Arabs, occupied in conveying merchandise to Babylon. From Ezek. xxvii. 20 (cf. verse 15) we learn that their wares consisted of saddle-cloths, which found their way to the great mercantile emporium of Western Asian commerce, Tyre. It is evident that they occupied settlements near Edom (Jer. xl ix. 8; Ezek. xxv. 13). *Temā* was a region in the north of Arabia on the borders of the Syrian Desert, 'one of the most important stations on the ancient trade-route from Yemen to Syria' (Nöldeke in *Enc. Bibl.*, article 'Ishmael').

Verses 16 and 17 are a *prosaic addition by a later writer* denouncing a Divine judgment on the inhabitants of *Kedar*. It is difficult to see what connexion there can be between these two verses and what precedes. The latter is conceived in a sympathetic spirit. These verses reveal no sympathy at all. It is by no means so certain, as Dr. Francis Brown ('Kedar,' in *Enc. Bibl.*) appears to assume, what was the actual relation between Kedar and Dedan. This writer holds that the former included the latter. At the time when this fragment was written, Kedar was *prosperous*, and its archers were regarded as formidable. The 'flocks of Kedar' and the 'rams of Nebaioth' are placed in juxta-

archers, the mighty men of the children of Kedar, shall be few: for the LORD, the God of Israel, hath spoken it.

[R] The burden of the valley of vision.

22

position in Isa. ix. 7, and we find Kedar and Nebaioth similarly combined in the Assyrian inscriptions. See especially Winckler in *KAT.*¹, i. p. 151¹, and also Margoliouth in Hastings' *DB.*, 'Kedar'; and S. A. Smith, *Keilsch. Assurbanipals*, col. vii. 124, viii. 15 (in which the king of Kedar is said to have fought with the kings of Palestine, the vassals of Ašurbanipal, and to have been crushed by the Assyrian power). Whether the overthrow recorded in Rassam's cylinder of Ašurbanipal (col. viii.) is that to which this fragment refers is uncertain. This might be regarded as possible if the preceding verses be taken as Isaianic or pre-Isaianic in origin. Skinner calls attention to a similar threat against Dedan in Jeremiah's prophecy against Edom in the time of Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. xlix. 7 foll.).

The language of this addendum resembles that of xvi. 13 foll., and may, indeed, have been modelled upon it. If, as we assumed in the comment on the above passage, Isaiah wrote the latter as an addendum to the preceding oracle on Moab belonging to a previous generation, we might conclude that Isaiah was also the author of this brief prosaic appendix, and that the preceding oracle 13-15, and perhaps verses 11, 12 also, were, like chaps. xv., xvi., the utterances of an earlier period than that of Isaiah. This is indeed, as we have already stated on a preceding page, quite a possible view. On the other hand, it is at least equally probable that a later writer wrote these concluding verses with the literary model before him of chaps. xv and xvi., contained in some collection of Isaiah's oracles which he possessed. On the whole, this latter view appears to us the more probable, but the data upon which a sound opinion can be based are so few and slight that no confident assertion is possible.

17. The word **archers** is a correct interpretation of the original, which means properly 'bow.' The phrase **mighty men** represents the ordinary Hebrew word for 'warriors.' The practice of archery had prevailed among the Northern Arabs from time immemorial (Gen. xxi. 20).

CHAPTER XXII.

The frivolity and inexpiable sin of Jerusalem (verses 1-14). In respect of clearness this section furnishes a refreshing contrast to

¹ Winckler notes that the flourishing period of Kedar and Nebaioth begins about 640 B. C.

[I] What aileth thee now, that thou art wholly gone
2 up to the housetops? O thou that art full of shoutings, a

that which precedes : its authorship is evidently that of Isaiah, and its historic situation is without question that which was furnished by the invasion by Sennacherib in 701 B.C. We are reminded somewhat of the position of Amos at the autumnal festival at Bethel, when that prophet denounced doom against the festal throng ('howling' in place of song, viii. 3). As disaster then impended over the northern kingdom (cire. 739?), so now, at the close of the eighth century, the armies of Assyria threatened Judah. Isaiah is ill at ease while the city is merry-making. The roofs are crowded with sight-seers ; the streets are full of exultation, noise, and movement. Did the people know that catastrophe was impending? If they had dim forebodings, they 'put aside the evil day,' like the nobles that sat at ease on their divans in Samaria in the days of Amos (vi. 3).

'Did ye not hear it? No; 'twas but the wind,
Or the car rattling o'er the stony street;
On with the dance! let joy be unconfined;
No sleep till morn, when youth and pleasure meet
To chase the glowing hours with flying feet.'

Amid the crowd the prophet passes solitary, dejected, with Yahweh's message of indignant warning in his heart.

The entire passage may be divided into three sections. Verses 1-5, in which the elegiac (or *Kinah*) measure can be distinctly traced, and lamentation is uttered over the festive city. Verses 6-10, descriptive of the siege of the city : the elegiac measure is still discernible, but the lines are mutilated, and from the latter part of verse 9 to the first part of verse 11 we have a prosaic interpolation introduced probably into a portion of the original document where the lines had become illegible. Lastly, verses 12-14 portray the doom that awaits the frivolous crowd.

1. The actual reading of the original title is very uncertain. Instead of the Hebrew word for 'vision' the LXX read in their text *Zion*. This may have been due to a mutilation of the first portion of the Hebrew word for 'vision.' Cheyne proposes to read *Hinnom*, which of course was the name of a well-known valley near Jerusalem. Marti is disposed to adopt this suggestion¹. *aileth thee* is not the right expression. Render: 'What,

¹ On the other hand, the LXX reading, 'utterance of the valley of Zion,' receives strong support from the opening of verse 9, where the fissures of the city of David are referred to. It is quite possible that this was the title in the original small collection of Isaianic oracles.

tumultuous city, a joyous town ; thy slain are not slain with the sword, neither are they dead in battle. All thy 3 rulers fled away together, they were bound by the archers : all that were found of thee were bound together, they fled afar off. Therefore said I, Look away from me; I will 4

pray, hath come to thee, that thou hast gone up all of thee to the roofs ?' The feminine form of the second person in the Hebrew refers to the personified totality of the inhabitants of the city.' In verse 4 this personified totality is called 'daughter of my people.' It is impossible to fix on any definite occasion for the popular rejoicing. Duhm goes to the Assyrian documents to find one, and ingeniously suggests that it was the advent of king Padi, the puppet of Assyria and placed over the inhabitants of Ekron, whom the latter had imprisoned and handed over to Hezekiah (Sennacherib's Taylor cylinder, col. ii. 69-72). The arrival of this royal prisoner 'in iron fetters' would no doubt be an occasion for popular excitement and crowded sight-seers¹.

2. *thy slain are not slain with the sword.* The expression is somewhat obscure, i. e. the defenders of the capital are not honourably slain by the enemy (the Assyrians) on the field of battle, but they are subjected to some other calamity—perhaps pestilence (so Delitzsch and Dillmann).

3. The seer vividly describes the panic created by the enemy's approach. *they were bound by the archers* is hardly a possible rendering (though supported by Gesenius). Translate : 'Without bow they were bound prisoners' (so R. V. marg.). This negative use (= 'without') of the Hebrew preposition is not infrequent. It must be confessed, however, that the language seems artificial, and when we turn to the LXX our suspicion that the original text does not stand before us is strongly confirmed. No word for 'bow' stood in the Hebrew text of the Greek translators. Yet this text also may have suffered corruption, for the LXX rendering does not yield a very good sense. We have sound reason for regarding the word for 'bow' as part of the original text, since the word in the original which the LXX read in its place closely resembles it. Marti follows Duhm's reconstruction of the text based on the LXX, which yields a very probable emendation, viz. 'Holding the bow, they were taken captive.' This assumes the omission of the word 'together' in the preceding clause.

4. The prophet refuses to be comforted in the presence of these

¹ Schrader, *COT.*, i. pp. 282, 285; KIB., ii. pp. 92 foll.

weep bitterly ; labour not to comfort me, for the spoiling
 5 of the daughter of my people. For it is a day of
 discomfiture, and of treading down, and of perplexity,
 from the Lord, the LORD of hosts, in the valley of
 vision ; a breaking down of the walls, and a crying to the
 6 mountains. And Elam bare the quiver, with chariots of
 men *and* horsemen ; and Kir uncovered the shield.

impending calamities. Render : 'I will break forth in bitter lamentation ; be not urgent to console me for the destruction of the daughter of my people.' Cf. note on i. 8.

5. In place of **For it is a day . . . from the LORD** read 'For the Lord . . . hath a day of,' &c. The expression 'day of the Lord' often recurs in Isaiah's oracles ; see note on ii. 12. Render : 'The day of uproar, treading down, and confusion' ; evidently the day when Jerusalem is to be besieged. We hear the crash of the battering-ram and of the stones hurled from catapults, the shouts of besiegers and besieged, and the groans of the wounded. The reliefs on the monuments of Tiglath-Pileser III in the Nimrud gallery of the British Museum (reproduced in article 'Siege' in *Enc. Bibl.*) will serve as a good pictorial commentary ; cf. Nah. ii. 2, 4-10, iii. 2, 3. On the facts of the siege of Jerusalem see the above-quoted Taylor cylinder (prism) of Sennacherib, col. iii. ll. 11-34 in Schrader's *KIB.*, ii. pp. 94 foll. ; *COT.*, i. pp. 283 foll.

6. The mention of Elamite bowmen has occasioned difficulties, since Elam as a whole had not yet been subjugated by Assyria. This, however, does not stand in the way of Elamite mercenaries being employed by the Assyrians. Duhm compares the Philistines in the army of David, or Germans in the Roman armies, or, we might add, the Greeks in the army of Cyrus. Elam, we know, was celebrated for its bowmen in the days of Jeremiah (xl ix. 35). 'The chariots of men and horsemen' is an impossible combination in the original. Duhm would omit the word for 'men' as a gloss. This would enable us to restore the elegiac metre of the line :—

‘And Elam bears the quiver—in chariot-cavalcade,’
 i. e. in the chariots harnessed to horses. The language seems to imply that the Elamite bowmen took their place in the chariots. This we know is what actually occurred. In *Assyrian* chariots there were as a rule *two* occupants, the driver, and, on his right, the Bowman. We find, however, in nearly every instance that the quiver was not carried on the back of the archer, but the arrows (accompanied often by a battle-axe) were conveyed in a receptacle on the outer edge of the chariot, which stood con-

And it came to pass, that thy choicest valleys were full 7
of chariots, and the horsemen set themselves in array at
the gate. And he took away the covering of Judah ; and 8
thou didst look in that day to the armour in the house of

veniently on the right of the archer (see article 'Chariot' in *Enc. Bibl.*). Occasionally, however, we have a single-horse chariot carrying two archers with quiver *on the back* (British Museum, Nimrûd gallery, No. 45). It is possible that we ought to render '*among* the chariot-cavalcade,' for the testimony of the monuments shows that 'from the close of the eighth century onwards the archers became dissociated from the chariots' (*Enc. Bibl.*, *ibid.*, col. 729).

The omission of the word *ādām*, meaning 'men,' from the text may appear to some too drastic a remedy. This word has often been confused with Edom and with Aram (since the characters *d* and *r* in early and late Hebrew were closely similar). We might therefore with a very slight emendation render: 'amid the chariots of Aram (=Syria) (are) horsemen.' The word for 'horse' here in Hebrew (*pārāsh*) has also the signification 'horseman.' We have in the clause merely an added picturesque detail.

The shield was taken out of the cover which wrapped it as a protection preparatory to use in active warfare. The geographical position of *Kir* cannot be determined. According to Amos i. 5 and ix. 7 it was the original home of the Aramaean race, while from 2 Kings xvi. 9 we learn that it formed part of the Assyrian dominions, and that the inhabitants of Damascus were deported thither¹. In verse 7 read: 'were full of chariots and horsemen.'

7. Render: 'they have taken up their position at the city gate.' Apparently all is ready for the final onset against the serried masses of the besieged, or, it may be, to resist a sally which the enemy are preparing. This would probably have been made clear if we had the text of the original before us complete. But this is evidently not the case. The shorter line of the elegiac (*Kinah*) measure, which immediately follows this, has been lost. Apparently the elegiac metre ceases here.

8. Translate: 'Then did he withdraw the covering of Judah,' i.e. withdrew the protection of Judah, and showed the utter weakness and forlorn condition of the state. It is uncertain what is the subject of the sentence: Yahweh (as Cheyne once supposed), or the enemy (so Cheyne in *SBOT*.). This leads the

¹ In 2 Kings xvi. 9 LXX omit *Kir* from their text. But Luc. evidently sustains it, though it is misinterpreted.

9 the forest. [I?] And ye saw the breaches of the city of David, that they were many : and ye gathered together the 10 waters of the lower pool. And ye numbered the houses of Jerusalem, and ye brake down the houses to fortify the 11 wall. Ye made also a reservoir between the two walls for the water of the old pool : but ye looked not unto him 12 that fashioned it long ago. [I] And in that day did the Lord, the LORD of hosts, call to weeping, and to mourning, and to baldness, and to girding with sack- 13 cloth : and behold, joy and gladness, slaying oxen and

writer to describe the means employed to place the city in a state of preparedness to resist a siege. *the house of the forest*, in which the armour and other implements of war were stored, is a reference to the house erected by Solomon, called the 'house of the forest of Lebanon,' of which we have a detailed description in 1 Kings vii. 2 foll., cf. x. 17.

9 foll. The survey is continued. The fortress-mount of David's city Zion reveals serious gaping fissures, through which an enemy might enter. We are passing from poetry to prose. The following lines up to the beginning of verse 11 seem to be what Duhm regards it, an interpolation, taken perhaps from a contemporary record of Hezekiah's reign, describing the events of the siege of Jerusalem. The editor has evidently been working over the original text of Isaiah's oracles, which had probably suffered serious mutilation at this place. It is fairly obvious that the prophet intended to refer to the 'house of the forest' as rifled of its store of arms, and to the gaping fissures of the Zion fortress as wrought by the military engines of the enemy. Verse 12 clearly shows that the prophet is thinking of the city as already stormed and captured.

The locality of the *old pool* (regarded by most writers as another name for the 'upper pool' of vii. 3) and of the *lower pool* has been a subject of considerable controversy; see note on vii. 3.

11. 'Yet ye looked not unto Him that does it.' Here the original words of Isaiah are resumed. The 'it' evidently refers to the destruction wrought by the enemy.

12. We are strongly reminded by the tone of this verse and its language ('baldness,' 'girding of sackcloth') of another *Isaianic* passage, iii. 24.

13. *The prophet turns bitterly to the scenes of frivolous*

killing sheep, eating flesh and drinking wine : let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we shall die. And the LORD¹⁴ of hosts revealed himself in mine ears, Surely this iniquity shall not be purged from you till ye die, saith the Lord, the LORD of hosts.

[I] Thus saith the Lord, the LORD of hosts, Go, get thee¹⁵

pleasure enacting around him : 'yet see ! joy and gladness . . .' It is by no means certain who utters the phrase 'eat and drink, for on the morrow we shall die.' Is it said by the prophet to the giddy thoughtless crowd in scornful irony ? or does it come from the crowd that mocks the warnings of the prophet, and flings back his warning 'to-morrow we shall die' in his face ? or does the prophet soliloquize and quote a current proverb, and place it on the lips of the revellers ? This last seems most probable. Ancient Egyptian literature, as Erman has shown us (*Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 386 foll.), is replete with echoes of the same idea.

'Let there be music and singing before thee,
Cast behind thee all cares, and mind thee of joy,
Till there cometh that day when we journey to the land
that loveth silence,'

sings the harper at the funerary feast of the priest Neferhotep. Parallels from Horace might be cited. We are reminded of the line in the German *Lied* : 'Pluck the rose ere it fades' (*Pflücket die Rose eh' sie verblüht*).

14. Read with the margin R. V. 'expiated by you' instead of purged from you. The concluding formula, saith the Lord, the LORD of hosts, is omitted in LXX, and is evidently an unnecessary addition of some scribe. Such persistent frivolity and indifference can have no other retribution than death.

Denunciation of Shebna the vezier (verses 15-25). The prophet is commanded by God to betake himself to the steward (or vezier) of the royal household, Shebna. He finds him at the rock-hewn sepulchre which the vezier had just been preparing for himself, and announces to him that he is deposed from his office and is to be expelled from the country (verses 15-18). The prophet then goes on to declare that Eliakim son of Hilkiah is to be his worthy successor, and expresses the utmost confidence in his steadfastness, comparing him to 'a nail in a sure place' (verse 23).

The Isaianic authorship of verses 15-18 seems to be well assured. But it is otherwise with verses 19-25. Cheyne in his *Introduction* points out several expressions which are strange to the actual vocabulary used by the prophet, and suggest lateness.

unto this treasurer, even unto Shebna, which is over the
16 house, *and say*, What doest thou here? and whom hast

Hitzig was the first to separate verses 24, 25 as a later prosaic addition. The verses that precede (19-23) Duhm holds to have been subsequently added as a supplement by some one who was interested in the fortunes of the family of Eliakim and kept in view xxxvi. 3¹, while the concluding verses (24, 25) are a still later addition by one who was hostile to that family and cannot have lived earlier than the Exile.

We agree with those critics from Hitzig downwards who would separate verses 24, 25 as a later gloss. Style and contents point to this conclusion, but the arguments against the Isaianic authorship of verses 19-23 are by no means decisive. They follow in natural sequence to the preceding verses, and, though style and rhythm are not by any means at the level of Isaiah's best, they contain little that militates against the theory of his authorship.

The composition of this section (verses 15-23) must be placed at nearly the same time as the earlier passage in this chapter (verses 1-14). This is clearly shown by a comparison of Isaiah's denunciation with the history recorded in Isa. xxxvi. 3, 22, xxxvii. 2 (corresponding to the parallels in 2 Kings xviii. 18, 37, xix. 2), a compilation that cannot have been made earlier than the close of the Exile period; see Skinner's 1 and 2 Kings in this series, Introduction, p. 18 foll. Now, when we turn to this later record we find Eliakim in the high position to which Isaiah in this prophecy elevates him: but the denunciation is not fulfilled, in its entirety at all events, with respect to Shebna. If he suffered immediate expulsion from Judah, he must have been shortly afterwards taken back into favour and placed in the lower yet very important and responsible position of royal secretary. The supposition of Kuenen (*Histor. Kritische Einleitung*, p. 94) that the writer of 2 Kings xviii was imperfectly informed, which commends itself to Kittel², appears to us a questionable solution. Dillmann (in the fifth edition of the *Commentary on Isaiah*) made the more plausible suggestion that his downfall followed later than the event recorded in 2 Kings xviii. What the actual facts were it is difficult even to surmise. It is probable that Shebna represented the anti-Assyrian or Egyptian party (so Cheyne), and had made himself personally hostile to Isaiah who, like Hosea before him in the northern

¹ It is difficult to understand how Duhm can reconcile verse 19 with 2 Kings xviii. 18 (Isa. xxxvi. 3), where Shebna occupies the high position of royal secretary.

² In his sixth edition of the *Commentary on Isaiah* previously edited by Dillmann.

thou here, that thou hast hewed thee out here a sepulchre? hewing him out a sepulchre on high, graving an habitation for himself in the rock! Behold, the LORD 17 will hurl thee away violently as a *strong man*; yea, he will wrap thee up closely. He will surely turn and toss 18 thee like a ball into a large country; there shalt thou die, and there shall be the chariots of thy glory, thou shame

kingdom, steadfastly ridiculed this policy of leaning upon Egypt. It is also not impossible that the fiery denunciation of the prophet had only a moderate effect on the mind of Hezekiah. Shebna's humiliation was only partial.

15. For *treasurer* read with R.V. (marg.) 'steward' or minister. The Hebrew word for it, *sōkēn*, appears to be the same in meaning as *sagan* in Isa. xli. 25, and also occurs in Jeremiah and Ezekiel and frequently in Nehemiah. The form *sōkēn*, however, has probably quite as good a title to be the original one, since we find it in Phoenician inscriptions. Not improbably in either form it was a loan-word borrowed from the Assyrian *šaknu*¹.

16. The name Shebna seems (as Ewald and Hitzig pointed out) to be Aramaean. Perhaps the fact of his being a foreigner awakened the prophet's anger, especially when he finds him hewing out a magnificent sepulchre for his family, probably in close neighbourhood to those belonging to the Jewish aristocracy. The prophet asks with indignation, *whom hast thou here . . . ?* i.e. what noble relative or other personal claim to bury your dead in such a place and in such a stately tomb.

17. *hurl thee*: i.e. from place and power. The rendering as a *strong man* is doubtful, though the conception of Yahweh as a strong man or warrior is by no means unfamiliar (Exod. xv. 3; Ps. xxiv. 8, &c.). It is more probable that we should render 'O mighty one' (with a slightly different punctuation and definite article prefixed), an expression of sarcastic scorn flung at Shebna, parallel to that which meets us at the close of verse 18.

18. R.V. marg. is on the whole more accurate: 'wind thee round,' &c., but it would be more correct to render 'roll thee up, in a roll like a ball.' The word *roll* here in the original has the

¹ It is interesting to note that in the form *sōkēn* it appears to have existed in the Canaanite language in 1400 B.C., and is transcribed in the form *su-ki-ni* in the Tell el Amarna tablets (Bezold's *Oriental Diplomacy*, Letter 64. 9, p. 54; cf. p. 119), and is translated by the Babylonian word *râbîsi*, 'officer.' See Zimmern's list, KAT³, 652; cf. p. 649 (*sâgân*).

19 of thy lord's house. And I will thrust thee from thine office, and from thy station shall he pull thee down.
 20 And it shall come to pass in that day, that I will call my
 21 servant Eliakim the son of Hilkiah : and I will clothe him with thy robe, and strengthen him with thy girdle, and I will commit thy government into his hand : and he shall be a father to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and
 22 to the house of Judah. And the key of the house of David will I lay upon his shoulder; and he shall open, and none shall shut ; and he shall shut, and none shall open.
 23 And I will fasten him as a nail in a sure place ; and he shall be for a throne of glory to his father's house. [PE]
 24 And they shall hang upon him all the glory of his father's

same root as the Hebrew word for 'turban,' which is a rolled-up piece of linen cloth. In the large country outside Judah there will be room for his ambition and megalomania to expand—'thy chariots of state, thou disgrace of thy master's house.'

21. The robe of Shebna with which Eliakim is to be clothed was a long state-robe of linen cloth, see article 'Tunic' in *Enc. Bibl.* The word in Hebrew is properly used of a linen under-garment, but is here employed (like girdle) of the *civic* official costume. In the later language of Exod. xxviii, xxix, and Leviticus these terms are used of *priestly* attire. In post-exilian times the civic was absorbed into the ecclesiastical.

The term father here means rather more than merely 'bene-factor' (cf. ix. 5 ; Job xxix. 16). It signifies also 'counsellor' or *wesir*. Thus Joseph exclaims that he has been made 'father' or *wesir* to Pharaoh, Gen. xlv. 8, while Haman is called 'second father' of Artaxerxes in the LXX addition to Esther iii. 13.

22. The key was laid upon the shoulder because it was long and heavy. Its form was entirely different from anything modern and European. See Cheyne's commentary in *SBOT*. (*Isaiah*), p. 160, with the figure of a merchant carrying keys on his shoulder. But it is extremely doubtful whether the modern Oriental representations are safe guides : see *Hebrew Antiquities* (R.T.S.), p. 68, and also Warre Cornish's *Concise Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* under 'Janua,' p. 357 (right-hand col.), with its representation of an iron Egyptian key.

23. fasten : properly 'fix by striking in.'

24. Instead of cups we ought probably to render wash-basins.

house, the offspring and the issue, every small vessel, from the vessels of cups even to all the vessels of flagons. In that day, saith the LORD of hosts, shall the nail that was fastened in a sure place give way; and it shall be hewn down, and fall, and the burden that was upon it shall be cut off; for the LORD hath spoken it.

[R] The burden of Tyre.

23

Here again we have a word borrowed from the Assyrian. These special words, as ‘nail,’ ‘wash-basin,’ ‘flagon’ (or pitcher), are omitted in the LXX, perhaps because not understood or regarded as metaphorical. Thus ‘nail’ (or ‘peg’) is rendered by ‘ruler’ in verse 23. Yet it is almost certain that the LXX (as represented by the Alex. and Vatic. MSS.) had another text before them. It is to be noticed, however, that Codex Marchalianus (Q in Swete’s edition) reproduces in the margin one of the missing words of our Hebrew text (viz. that for wash-basins).

CHAPTER XXIII.

Oracle concerning Tyre (verses 1-18). A prophetic message of doom against Phoenicia, and more particularly Tyre and Sidon, its two famed mercantile ports. Its great merchant-vessels and its inhabitants are filled with anguish and consternation at the destruction of her commerce and prosperity. Egypt, from which came the ‘harvest of the Nile,’ is deeply stirred at the news of Tyre’s calamity (1-5); the inhabitants of Tyre and the coastland are to migrate from their desolated country to Tarshish, since the Lord of Hosts has purposed to humiliate Tyre, and not Tyre only, since ‘He has stretched out his hand over the sea and shaken the kingdoms’ (6-14). In the concluding verses of this chapter (15-18) we have an addendum in which it is announced that after seventy years Tyre shall revive and her merchandise and her hire shall be dedicated as holy to Yahweh.

The problems respecting this chapter are complex, and the best statement of them will be found in the luminous pages of Cheyne’s *Introduction*. We must obviously begin with a consideration of the first fourteen verses. These refer to a humiliation of Tyre. When did this take place? Various historic occasions present themselves: (1) In the reign of Shalmaneser IV (727-722), of which Menander gives an account preserved in Josephus, *Antiquities*, ix. 14. 2. Shalmaneser conquered Phoenicia, but the Tyrian island-stronghold maintained a stout resistance for five years, and this must have been prolonged into the reign of

[Pre-Ex.] Howl, ye ships of Tarshish ; for it is laid waste, so that there is no house, no entering in : from the land of

Shalmaneser's successor, Sargon. We know that Tyre was subject to Sargon and paid tribute, Schrader, *COT.*, i. p. 158. (2) In the reign of Sennacherib that monarch came into collision with Luli king of Sidon¹ and drove him from his throne (*Taylor cylinder*. col. 11, 35 foll.; *Kujundshik Bull inscription*, iii Rawl. 12. 18 foll.; Schrader, *COT.*, i. pp. 280 foll., 294 foll.), but we have no indication that he attacked Tyre. (3) Far more serious was the overthrow which Phoenicia suffered in the reigns of Esarhaddon and Asurbanipal. Under the influence of Tirhakah, Ethbaal king of Tyre revolted between 672 and 668, was besieged by Assyrian land-troops, and was finally reduced by Asurbanipal in 668 b.c. (4) Lastly, after the fall of Jerusalem, Nebuchadnezzar attacked the Phoenicians who formed the northern link in the coalition (which included Judaea and Egypt) against Babylonia. Tyre suffered a thirteen years' siege by Nebuchadnezzar's armies. To this revolt against Babylonia by Ethbaal II of Tyre, and the subsequent siege, we have special and detailed reference in Ezek. xxvi–xxviii and Jer. xxvii. 3; cf. Josephus, *Antiquities*, x. ii. 1, and *Cont. Ap.* i. 21. Whether Tyre was finally captured as Ezekiel prophesied in 586–5 b.c. (Ezek. xxvi. 4, 7–14) is far from certain. No ancient authority states that Nebuchadnezzar actually succeeded in his final object of taking the stronghold. There is no definite assertion of the fact in the oracle delivered by Ezekiel sixteen years after his prophecy (chap. xxvi). In his last prophetic utterance (xxix. 17 foll.) he only speaks of 'the service which Nebuchadnezzar had rendered' against Tyre, for which recompense is to be given him by the conquest of Egypt.

The conclusion to which this historic survey brings us is that it is only the events of the seventh century that give an adequate basis for the oracle (verses 1–14), viz. those recorded in (3) and (4). The attack upon Phoenicia in the time of Shalmaneser, described in Menander's narrative, has been questioned by recent investigators, viz. Meyer, Stade, and Winckler, who agree with Geo. Smith in his surmise (*History of Sennacherib*, p. 69) that there is a confusion in Menander's account (as cited by Josephus) between the reign of Shalmaneser IV and the events of the reign of Sennacherib (viz. those mentioned under (2))². If we ac-

¹ By some identified with the Elulaeus whom Menander calls king of Tyre.

² See Stade, *Gesch. Israels*, p. 599 footnote; Winckler, *Gesch. Babyloniens u. Assyriens*, p. 234 and note, pp. 333 foll. Winckler is, however, now disposed to believe that the confusion in the pages of

Kittim it is revealed to them. Be still, ye inhabitants of ²
the isle; thou whom the merchants of Zidon, that pass

cept the view that the reference of the oracle is to the attack of Sennacherib on Luli and to the destruction which that expedition was considered to harbinger, we might follow Cheyne's earlier opinion, adopted in his *Commentary* twenty years ago, that the problematic verse 13, in which reference is made to the overthrow of the land of the Chaldeans, is based upon Sennacherib's victorious campaign against Babylonia and the expulsion of its king Merodach-Baladan in 703-2. Isaiah might well have 'regarded this as foreshadowing the fate of Phoenicia.' At first sight this seems an attractive hypothesis, especially as it appears to furnish a natural solution of the difficulties which belong to verse 13. But there are two considerations which weigh heavily against it. (a) Sennacherib's enterprise against Sidon does not possess the importance which this oracle assigns to the overthrow of Phoenicia, and it is by no means clear that Tyre was in any serious degree affected. (b) The language of verses 1-4, while it contains many Isaianic expressions, also includes others which are foreign to the prophet. These are set forth in Cheyne's *Introduction* and in Dillmann-Kittel's *Commentary*.

Accordingly we are led to the third event enumerated above, the overthrow of Tyre after a five years' siege by Esarhaddon and consummated by Ašurbanipal in the year 668 b. c. The first twelve verses allude to this event, and the phraseology of the oracle is best explained by the assumption that it was written by a disciple of the prophet Isaiah and incorporated in his master's oracles. Twenty years later Ašurbanipal crushed a formidable conspiracy in Babylonia: 'Sippar, Babylon, and Kutha, the three most important seats of culture in Northern Babylonia, were subdued and their inhabitants reduced to subjection who had not died already of hunger or disease. . . . Babylonia was therefore once again conquered, and so completely ruined by devastation that for a long time it had no further craving for independence' (Winckler). We find here the historic background to verses 13, 14 which were subsequently added by the prophet or some other writer as a warning to Tyre.

Verses 15-18 were added after the reign of Nebuchadnezzar and during the days of the Exile, when the advent of a new power which was to destroy Babylonia was eagerly anticipated. The 'seventy years' is an obvious reminiscence, like Zech. i. 12, of

Josephus is with the events in the reign of Ašurbanipal (3), with which some of the details in the narrative agree (KAT³, p. 94).

3 over the sea, have replenished. And on great waters the seed of Shihor, the harvest of the Nile, was her revenue; 4 and she was the mart of nations. Be thou ashamed, O Zidon: for the sea hath spoken, the strong hold of the sea, saying, I have not travailed, nor brought forth, neither have I nourished young men, nor brought up

Jer. xxv. 11, xxix. 10. In Jer. xxv. 12-14 chastisement is foretold against the king of Babylon after that period (see below, note on verse 15). Then would come the time for Tyre's revival.

The first twelve verses are composed in the elegiac measure, but the text in many places is uncertain. The original poem seems to have consisted of strophes of seven or eight lines each.

1. Respecting the ships of Tarshish and the position of Tarshish see comment on ii. 16 and footnote. These merchant-vessels on their return to the Phoenician coast discover to their consternation that Tyre and Sidon, the great emporia of commerce, have been destroyed. Render with Duhm the first lines:—

'Howl, ships of Tarshish—for home is no more (*lit.* 'is destroyed'):

At the entering in from the land of Kittim—'twas revealed unto them.'

Kittim was the modern Cyprus, mainly peopled by Phoenician colonists, the town Kitium being their chief settlement (see KAT.³, i. p. 128). The Phoenician merchantmen would naturally call at Cyprus on their way to Tyre, and as they sailed away from Cyprus to the Phoenician coast they would first become aware of the destruction of the far-famed ports of Tyre and Sidon.

2. For isle read with R. V. marg. 'coastland,' i. e. of Phoenicia. It is very difficult here to follow any elegiac (*Kinah*) rhythm.

3. Shihor here and in Jer. ii. 18 obviously means the Nile or, as Fried. Delitzsch suggests, the Pelusiac branch of the Nile (*Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 311). Egypt from the earliest times (Gen. xii. 10, xli. 1 foll., 57) to those of the Roman Republic and Empire has been one of the most important granaries of the lands surrounding the Mediterranean. The grain and other products were conveyed in Phoenician vessels, since the Phoenicians, like the English of the present day, to whom the German philologist Böttcher fittingly compared them¹, did nearly all the

¹. *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Sprache*, § 982.

virgins. When the report cometh to Egypt, they shall 5
 be sorely pained at the report of Tyre. Pass ye over to 6
 Tarshish ; howl, ye inhabitants of the isle. Is this your 7
 joyous *city*, whose antiquity is of ancient days, whose feet 8
 carried her afar off to sojourn? Who hath purposed this 9
 against Tyre, the crowning *city*, whose merchants are
 princes, whose traffickers are the honourable of the earth? 10
 The LORD of hosts hath purposed it, to stain the pride
 of all glory, to bring into contempt all the honourable
 of the earth. Pass through thy land as the Nile, O
 daughter of Tarshish ; there is no girdle *about thee* any

carrying trade of the Mediterranean Sea from the eighth century
 till the days of Alexander.

5. Egypt trembles at the news. With good reason, for about
 this time (670 B. C.) Egypt felt the strong hand of Esarhaddon.

7. For antiquity read 'origin.' The great antiquity of Tyre
 was asserted by classical writers, Herodotus and Strabo.
 Josephus, *Antiq.* viii. 3. 1, places the founding of Tyre 240 years
 before the building of Solomon's temple; probably basing this
 estimate on the accounts of Menander, to which he had access.

8. The elegiac measure is here more clearly marked. The
 poet-seer asks :—

'Who hath counselled this against Tyre—bestower of crowns;
 Whose merchants are princes—traders honoured of earth!'

9. And the answer comes :—

'Yahweh of Hosts hath counselled it—[her] pride to disgrace,
 All splendour to bring low ;—all the honoured of earth.'

10. The LXX in their rendering show that the text is corrupt.
 The word for *Nile* is absent from their text, and is evidently due
 to dittography of the original Hebrew ending of the word for *pass*
 and the first two characters of the word for *land*. We are thus
 able to restore the elegiac metre. Moreover, the word for *girdle*
 in Hebrew is evidently due to corruption. It would be safer here
 to follow Duhm's suggestion and read 'harbour.' Accordingly
 we should translate :—

'Cultivate¹ thy land, daughter of Tarshish,—the harbour is
 no more !'

¹ Reading in Hebrew 'ibdl for 'ibr' ('pass'). Ezek. xxvii. 12 gives us valuable information as to the actual commerce of Tarshish.

11 more. He hath stretched out his hand over the sea, he hath shaken the kingdoms : the LORD hath given commandment concerning Canaan, to destroy the strong
 12 holds thereof. And he said, Thou shalt no more rejoice, O thou oppressed virgin daughter of Zidon : arise, pass over to Kittim ; even there shalt thou have
 13 no rest. Behold, the land of the Chaldeans ; this people is no more ; the Assyrian hath appointed it for the beasts of the wilderness : they set up their towers, they over-

Mercantile enterprise is destroyed, and the only resource for the inhabitants of Tarshish is to abandon trade for agriculture. This use of the word **daughter** as a personification for inhabitants is a commonplace of Hebrew poetry (i. 8, x. 32, xxii. 4; Jer. xlvi. 11, 19, 24; Zech. ii. 11; Ps. xlv. 13, cxxxvii. 8, &c.).

11. The **kingdoms** which God has caused to tremble probably refer to Phoenician colonies in Cyprus and elsewhere. But Egypt was no doubt in the thoughts of the prophet, which was just then (670 B. C.) feeling the heavy hand of Esarhaddon (cf. above, verse 5).

12. For **oppressed** substitute ‘outraged.’ The word for **virgin** in the Hebrew text (omitted by LXX) is evidently an addition, and should be left out. The inhabitants of the destroyed city Sidon naturally seek refuge in the Phoenician settlements of the neighbouring island Cyprus ; but, as we learn from the previous verse, the judgment of God’s outstretched hand had passed over the sea, and there was no security in Cyprus.

13 has been added either by the author of this prophecy in later years, or by some subsequent writer. The latter seems on the whole more probable, for we have here an inferior style and no rhythm. The historic reference has been already explained in the introductory remarks to this chapter, and we thus obtain on the whole the most satisfactory solution of the problems of this difficult verse. Formerly, when it was customary to regard this section as wholly Isaianic, and to refer it to the supposed conquest of Phoenicia in the years 726-721 (circ.) B. C., the reference to the

(‘*Tartessus*’ in *Hispania Baetica*). The products which it brought into the markets of Tyre were of great variety, but appear to have mainly consisted of silver, iron, tin, and lead from the Spanish mines. This fact gives peculiar significance to the reading of the LXX Hebrew text. On the constant confusion between the Hebrew characters for *r* and *d* cf. above, note on xxii. 6.

threw the palaces thereof; he made it a ruin. Howl, ye ships of Tarshish: for your strong hold is laid waste. [Ex.] And it shall come to pass in that day, that Tyre shall be forgotten seventy years, according to the days of one king: after the end of seventy years it shall be unto Tyre

Chaldeans was felt to be a serious stumbling-block, and Ewald actually proposed the drastic remedy of reading 'Canaanites' in place of Chaldeans, which is even adopted by so careful a scholar as Schrader (*COT.*, ii. pp. 102 foll.). Equally violent and arbitrary is Duhm's alteration of the word Chaldeans into Kitteans in order to establish a sequence with the preceding verse. We have no warrant for either procedure.

The style of the verse is very difficult, and there are several obscure words. The rendering of the R. V. may stand as a fair provisional translation. The LXX evidently had a shorter Hebrew text before them. The general sense is, however, fairly clear—the destruction of the land of the Chaldeans by Assyria.

Verses 15–18. The events of the preceding verses have long passed by. We are no longer in the seventh century, but in the sixth. Even the prolonged siege of Tyre by the armies of Nebuchadnezzar, watched by the prophet Ezekiel (xxvi. foll.) with such intense interest, has become a thing of the past. Phoenicia and its great seaports have declined. The parallel between this section and Jer. xxv. 12–14, which bears the clear impress of a later addition, and the mention of seventy years in both, strongly support the conclusion that both additions may have come from the same hand—a sixth-century writer, who prophesies a period of seventy years' oblivion. The lilt of an old Phoenician song, sung, it may well be, at the annual festivals of Baal or Ashtoreth, or in the drinking-bouts of the revellers (Isa. v. 11, 12), comes to the writer's memory:—

'Take up the harp,
Pass round the city,
Forgotten coquette.
Touch the strings deftly,
Sing many a song,
That thou be remembered.'

For Tyre shall be remembered in the years to come when the seventy years of oblivion are ended.

15. Translate: 'like the days of one king,' i. e. as it were during the years of the reigning king or of his dynasty. When that passes away a change for the better will come (cf. Exod. i. 8; Dan. vii. 17).

16 as in the song of the harlot. Take an harp, go about the city, thou harlot that hast been forgotten ; make sweet melody, sing many songs, that thou mayest be remembered. And it shall come to pass after the end of seventy years, that the LORD will visit Tyre, and she shall return to her hire, and shall play the harlot with all the kingdoms 18 of the world upon the face of the earth. And her merchandise and her hire shall be holiness to the LORD : it shall not be treasured nor laid up ; for her merchandise shall be for them that dwell before the LORD, to eat sufficiently, and for durable clothing.

16. The song has the unmistakable dance-rhythm. Cf. Song of Songs iii. 3.

Intercourse with foreign nations was designated 'harlotry' by the prophet Hosea and those who followed him (especially Nahum and Ezekiel).

17. The visitation of Tyre here is to be a friendly one, and not by way of chastisement ; like God's kindly visitation of Judah after seventy years in Jer. xxix. 10. In this and the following verse it is possible to discern the broadening influence of exile on the Jewish mind reflected in such noble passages of the Deutero-Isaiah as xlix. 6.

18. The hire of such commerce with foreign peoples, to which an evil name is given, is no longer to be the mere enrichment of Tyre. We move in the region of subtle metaphor, and have here an allusion to ancient custom. The temples of Baal and Ashtoreth (like those of Ishtar in Babylonia) had their licentious accompaniments (cf. Amos ii. 7). Female attendants, the ministrants of temple prostitution, brought their hire to the sanctuary. It was sacred to the deity. But these gains of Tyre's revived commercial prosperity are now to become sacred to Yahweh. Duhm holds that we ought not to import any ethical conceptions here. Just as the priests consumed the larger portion of the offerings, so with Tyre's revived commercial prosperity. It will pass into the hands of the priest-nation of Yahweh, and so become sacred. It will be for those 'who dwell before Yahweh,' viz. the Jews. Compare the language of the Trito-Isaiah respecting Jerusalem : 'Thy gateways shall be open continually.' We read in ix. 11, 'day and night they shall not be shut, to bring in unto thee the wealth of foreign nations'; cf. xli. 6. Yet it is conceivable that such an interpretation unduly narrows the significance of the

[PE] Behold, the LORD maketh the earth empty, and 24
maketh it waste, and turneth it upside down, and scattereth

present passage. Possibly also there underlies these verses a reminiscence of the days of Solomon, when the artistic resources of Tyre adorned the first temple.

CHAPTERS XXIV-XXVII.

Yahweh's World-Judgment. We now come to a group of oracles which stand altogether separate from those we have yet considered, both in style and contents, though even here it is possible that Isaianic elements may have been incorporated. Their general character is concisely expressed by the comprehensive terms *eschatological* and *apocalyptic*. The term 'apocalyptic' is best explained in the language employed by Bousset in his article on 'Jewish Apocalyptic' in the third edition of Herzog's *Realencyclopädie*: 'The transition of prophetic literature to apocalyptic is really scarcely traceable. But it may be asserted in general terms that whereas prophecy foretells a definite future which has its foundation in the present, apocalyptic directs its anticipations solely and simply to the future—to a new world-period which stands sharply contrasted with the present. The classical model of all apocalyptic may be found in Dan. vii. . . . Powers that are rebellious and hostile to Yahweh bear rule. . . . It is only after a great war of destruction, a "Day of Yahweh," or day of the Great Judgment, that the dominion of God will begin.' Probably it was Ezekiel (chaps. xxxviii, xxxix) to whom the origin of this new conception was due. We refer to his portrayal of a great world-crisis in which the power of the heathen world arrayed under Gog was to confront Israel and be utterly vanquished by the might of Yahweh (see Introduction to Ezekiel in the *Temple Bible*, pp. xxii foll.). In later Jewish literature the personal head of the hostile world-power is Satan or the Devil.

From what has been said it will be readily inferred that we are now dealing with a later phase of Hebrew thought than that which prevailed in the days of Isaiah. Isaiah's oracles were deeply and closely concerned with the historic realities of the present. His mental horizon was on the whole severely limited, and though ideal conceptions like those set forth in ii. 2-4, ix. 1-7, and xi. 1-9 show that his genius was by no means so narrowly circumscribed as some recent critics maintain, yet such eschatological ideas as belong in the proper sense to apocalyptic and to the chapters we are about to consider were foreign to him.

Modern critics are unanimous in denying the Isaianic authorship of this group of prophecies. In the last work written by the evangelical commentator Franz Delitzsch on *Messianic Prophecy*

abroad the inhabitants thereof. And it shall be, as with the people, so with the priest; as with the servant, so

(1890), pp. 143 foll., these chapters are placed after the Deutero-Isaiah as the 'great finale.' The question arises how far subsequent to the Deutero-Isaiah these oracles should be dated. The problem is complicated by the fact, which a narrow scrutiny of the original text discloses, and Duhm's analysis renders still clearer, that we have here a complex of varied fragments of a *prophetic* and in many cases distinctly *apocalyptic* character, and also of others *lyrical* in form. The passages which bear most clearly the apocalyptic impress are xxiv, xxv. 6-8, xxvi. 20, 21, and also xxvii. 1.

A general survey of the contents will now be given. A universal desolating judgment from God will befall the world, and the earth lies under the curse which the sins of its inhabitants have merited and called forth. The vines decay, joy ceases, the city is desolate (verses 1-12). There are premature rejoicings over the manifestations of Yahweh's power. In these the prophet is unable to share, for spoliation prevails, the earth's foundations shake (verses 13-20). An apocalyptic scene follows, utterly unlike any portrayal of the 'day of the Lord' in Isaiah (cf. ii. 12-21); on the other hand, closely resembling the scenes in the Book of Enoch, Fourth Esdras, or the Book of Revelation. The hostile powers in heaven and kings of the earth are to be punished and shut up in prison by Yahweh. Sun and moon shall be darkened. Yahweh's triumph is at hand, and He shall reign in Mount Zion (verses 21-23). Then is the proper season for song, and a lyrical passage follows in chap. xxv. The prosperity and blessing of the kingdom of Yahweh are described as a feast of fat things, and a season when death and sorrow pass away (xxv. 1-8). God, the deliverer long sighed for, shall come, and Moab's arrogance shall be laid low (verses 9-12). Another lyrical passage follows, a song of thanksgiving to God with which in Judah these happier days are greeted (xxvi. 1-12). The language and tone of this song remind us of the Psalms, and of Isa. xii, which is late. It belongs to an age when there was a church community, and we are evidently at an advanced date in the post-exilian period. In verses 13-19 we have a retrospect over Israel's past days in which successive rulers exercised lordship, presumably Egyptians, Syrians, Assyrians, Babylonians, and Persians. Should we also include the Greek rulers? In verse 19 (cf. verse 14) we have a note quite foreign to Isaiah and his times, viz. that of confident expectation that Yahweh's faithful dead shall arise. This doctrine of the resurrection is not so definitely expressed as in Dan. xii. 2, yet it is a clear evidence that we have here reached a much later stage in Jewish eschatological belief than in any preceding

with his master ; as with the maid, so with her mistress ; as with the buyer, so with the seller ; as with the lender,

chapter. Chapter xxvi closes with an apocalyptic passage in verses 20, 21, to which metre and style show that xxvii. 1 should also be assigned. God's world-judgment is to take place and the world-powers are to be chastised. Meanwhile God's faithful people are to keep themselves in secure retirement till the storm of Divine judgment is past. The remainder of chap. xxvii is a complex containing a brief song, descriptive of God's protective care for Israel his vineyard (cf. chap. v. 1 foll.), and His destruction of the thorns and thistles that oppose the progress of the vineyard. In future days the vineyard shall blossom and increase, and fill the world with fruit (verses 2-6). All the penalties suffered by Israel have only been for his good, while his enemies are destroyed. Lastly, God's people are to be gathered together from the Euphrates to the borders of Egypt to the worship of Yahweh 'in the holy mountain in Jerusalem.'

In the course of our survey we have noted many signs of later Hebrew thought. There are also obvious echoes of earlier literature. Isaiah's song of the vineyard (v. 1 foll.) is evidently the basis of xxvii. 2 foll., which may, indeed, contain other Isaianic elements. xxvii. 6 is like an echo of Hos. xiv. 6-8. When we turn to the *language* of these four chapters, we find abundant evidences, not only that the authorship could not be Isaianic, but that the style is that of a later period of literature. It is far less simple than that of the prophets of the eighth century. On the contrary, it is ornamental and artificial. We find an accumulation of almost synonymous words and phrases to enhance the effect. We have a threefold variation of phrase in xxiv. 4, 8, 19, making each verse somewhat cumbrous. Both in these verses and in xxiv. 16, xxv. 1, xxvi. 3, 5, 15, xxvii. 5 we note the characteristic repetition of a word. There is a fondness for rhymed endings (xxiv. 1, 8, 16, xxv. 1, 6 foll., xxvi. 2, 13, 20 foll., xxvii. 3, 5 in the original), and for alliterations accumulated together (xxiv. 1, 3 foll., 6, 13-19, xxv. 6, 10, xxvi. 3, xxvii. 7 in the Hebrew original). These and many indications of later style may be found by the student who can read German in Dillmann-Kittel's *Commentary*, pp. 217 foll.

To what time should we ascribe this group of prophecies ? The answers given by recent critics vary considerably. The references to Mount Zion as 'this mountain' in xxv. 6, 7, 10 show that the writer was living in Judaea. Moreover, xxiv. 14 foll. prove that the writer was anticipating an issue of the Divine judgment over the kingdoms of the world which would be favourable to Israel, though not yet concluded. The people sigh for the downfall of heathendom and the advent of peace (xxvi passim). For God's

so with the borrower ; as with the taker of usury, so with
3 the giver of usury to him. The earth shall be utterly

people are no longer faithless to Yahweh. National backsliding is regarded as a thing of the past (xxvi. 16 foll., xxvii. 9), from which the people have been thoroughly purged by disciplinary chastisement and sincere penitence. About the second year of Darius, Babylon, though captured by Cyrus (538 B. C.), had not yet been destroyed. The seventy years of Divine wrath over Judah were not yet completed, and fresh judgments on Babylon were expected (Zech. i. 12 foll., ii. 10). This situation agrees with xxvi. 1, as well as with Hag. ii. A further confirmation of this view is found in xxiv. 2, 23, where people and priests (and not *princes*) are compared, and the elders are regarded as the rulers (cf. Ezra x. 5). This is considered to reflect the social conditions of the early post-exilian period. These are the main grounds why these prophecies are assigned in Dillmann-Kittel's *Commentary* to the close of the sixth century in the post-exilian period. Certainly no earlier date is possible. On the other hand, Duhm places the date nearly four centuries later : 'Jerusalem lies in ruins ; the hopes of the Jews living in the west, awakened by some event which is not mentioned, are not shared by the writer, who on the contrary expects the advent of the spoilers. The three world-powers are unfortunately only indicated by apocalyptic figures [xxvii. 1]. . . . I understand by these symbolic forms the Parthians, the Syrians, and the Egyptians. The first are referred to as "the spoilers." The writer has passed through the experience of the siege of Jerusalem by Antiochus Sidetes soon after the accession of John Hyrcanus (135 B. C.), and subsequently the beginning of the Parthian War, the unfortunate expedition of Antiochus VII in which the Jews were compelled to take part (129 B. C.). The unmentioned event over which the writer cannot rejoice with his compatriots is the overthrow of Antiochus, because it would become the occasion for the inroads of the Parthians. The writer belongs, by virtue of his unwarlike temperament, in all probability to the Chasidim.' Moreover, we have later interpolated passages : 'xxv. 1-5 refers to the destruction of Samaria by John Hyrcanus (between 113 and 105 B. C.) ; the mighty city is Rome. The same event is presupposed in xxvi. 1-19 ; xxv. 9-11 belongs to the time of Alexander Jannaeus.' These views of Duhm are as extreme on the one side as those of Dillmann-Kittel's *Commentary* on the other. The latter fail to take due account of the strong apocalyptic tendency and the later conceptions which these chapters manifest ; the former make it very difficult to hold any consistent theory as to the close of the prophetic canon, the frame of which, according to Duhm's speculative dates, must have been a very loose one.

emptied, and utterly spoiled ; for the LORD hath spoken this word . The earth mourneth and fadeth away, the world languisheth and fadeth away, the lofty people of the earth do languish. The earth also is polluted under the inhabitants thereof ; because they have transgressed the laws, changed the ordinance, broken the everlasting

Accordingly, we prefer to place the date of these prophecies in the Greek period—approximately towards the beginning of the third century or end of the fourth. They may have referred to the historical crises which underlie the oracles of the Deutero-Zechariah (see Stade in *ZATW.*, 1881, 1882). If we follow the hint of Stade in his own *Zeitschrift*, 1882, pp. 298–306, dealing with Zech. ix–xiv, we might tentatively place them between 330 and 275 B.C. Cheyne would connect them with Alexander's capture of Tyre, 332 B.C. This is perhaps the correct conclusion.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Verses 1–3 contain a general announcement of a universal Divine judgment that shall desolate and depopulate the earth and revolutionize social conditions.

2. More literally, ‘as the people, so the priest’; cf. Hos. iv. 9, where the same phrase occurs, which seems to have been proverbial. The parallels in the following clauses suggest that the priests are regarded as the ruling caste in this particular passage. Such they rapidly became in post-exilian Judaism. The verse shows how all classes would be involved in the judgment, so that there would be a general levelling of social grades.

3. Paronomasia or assonance plays a large part in the Hebrew original in this and the following verses.

Verses 4–12. Premonitory symptoms of the coming catastrophe are discerned by the prophet in the present. The world mourns, the vine decays, and corresponding to the languishing state of external nature there is the internal state of moral transgression and guilt. The city is desolate ; mirth ceases.

4. for *lofty* read ‘lostiest.’

5. The words here for laws (*tōrōth*¹) and everlasting covenant are quite foreign to Isaiah. They point clearly to a time when the legislation of our Pentateuch had been long codified and was regarded with reverence and awe. ‘Everlasting covenant’ seems to be an echo of Gen. ix. 16 (Priestercodex).

¹ Isaiah uses the singular form *tōrah*, but only in the earlier and more primitive sense of ‘instruction.’ In i. 10 it stands in parallelism with the ‘word of God’ which comes to the prophet.

6 covenant. Therefore hath the curse devoured the earth, and they that dwell therein are found guilty: therefore the inhabitants of the earth are burned, and few men left.
 7 The new wine mourneth, the vine languisheth, all the
 8 merryhearted do sigh. The mirth of tabrets ceaseth, the
 noise of them that rejoice endeth, the joy of the harp
 9 ceaseth. They shall not drink wine with a song; strong
 10 drink shall be bitter to them that drink it. The city of
 confusion is broken down: every house is shut up, that
 11 no man may come in. There is a crying in the streets
 because of the wine; all joy is darkened, the mirth of the

6. are found guilty. In the original the verbal form signifies not only the incurring of guilt but also suffering the penalty for it. The curse is probably the effect of the pollution of blood which works with a magic potency, devouring the earth and its inhabitants like a disease.

7. We have a parallel to (perhaps an echo of) Joel i. 10, 12, 18. In the latter the conception of nature's decay is worked out in greater detail than here.

8. The **mirth of tabrets** would be the inevitable accompaniment of the vintage-season commemorated in the festival of Succoth (or Tabernacles); cf. Amos viii. 3, 10.

10. 'Wasteness' of R. V. marg. is the more correct rendering. The word is the same as that which describes the primaeval chaos in Gen. i. 2 (Priestercodex). The interpretation is by no means certain. Does the city mean Jerusalem (as Duhm and Marti assume), or are we to follow the hint of the LXX which render 'every city,' and take the word as collective and general, since the judgment from Yahweh is one which is to overtake the whole world (cf. verse 1)? This latter is the view of Kittel, and is supported by the latter clause of the verse. It is in fact very difficult to see what occasion any calamity to Jerusalem could give to Jewish rejoicing (verse 14 foll.).

11. because of the wine: i.e. the desolated vineyards; cf. xxxii. 12.

is darkened: lit. sinks into the darkness of evening; in other words, 'disappears' or 'ceases.' The latter is the rendering of the LXX (*μένενται*). There is, therefore, no need to alter the Hebrew text and render, as Marti proposes, 'has passed by' or 'passed away.'

land is gone. In the city is left desolation; and the gate ¹² is smitten with destruction. For thus shall it be in the ¹³ midst of the earth among the peoples, as the shaking of an olive tree, as the grape gleanings when the vintage is done. These shall lift up their voice, they shall shout; ¹⁴ for the majesty of the LORD they cry aloud from the sea. Wherefore glorify ye the LORD in the east, even the ¹⁵

12. is left, more accurately 'is left remaining,' a kind of oxymoron, with destruction, more correctly 'to ruins.' The reference of this description by Kittel to Babylon captured by Darius is just as arbitrary as the identification of the city with Jerusalem in verse 10 by Duhm. As Marti pertinently observes, the overthrow of Babylon would be no adequate occasion for depression or melancholy: cf. Ps. cxxxvii. 8 foll.

Verses 13-20. The prophet passes from the premonitory indications of the present to deal more definitely with the future.

13. In this verse we note an evident borrowing from the language of Isaiah's oracle, xvii. 6, where we have the same metaphor of the beating of the olive in the harvest, when a small remnant of berries only is left upon the topmost branches—symbolizing the small number who escape the Divine judgment.

14. Who are referred to by these (distinguished by special emphasis in the original)? The LXX appear to have had another text before them, since they render: 'Those who are left behind upon the earth shall rejoice....' Duhm regards 'Those who are left behind upon the earth' as a mere interpretative paraphrase of the words in our text. But this is rendered somewhat doubtful by a careful examination of the Hebrew text itself, which might be a corruption of the purer text used by the LXX, and is moreover very obscure. Our LXX text seems to have combined our own Hebrew text with another purer text into one complete reading, which they render: 'These shall call out aloud, and those who are left behind upon the earth shall rejoice....'

Marti finds in the Hebrew pronoun rendered 'these' an emphatic contrast to the 'I' of the poet who speaks in verse 16. 'They are obviously Jews of the Diaspora in the west, whether on the coast of Asia Minor and the adjoining islands or even in Egypt. "These" regard the situation with different eyes from those of the writer.' Cf. verse 16. Dillmann's interpretation is similar.

15. The words of their rejoicing are here quoted.

in the east is usually rendered 'in the regions of light' (so Duhm). But text and interpretation are very uncertain. LXX omit it. Various expedients have been suggested in emendation

name of the LORD, the God of Israel, in the isles of the sea.

16 From the uttermost part of the earth have we heard songs, glory to the righteous. But I said, I pine away, I pine away, woe is me! the treacherous dealers have dealt treacherously; yea, the treacherous dealers have 17 dealt very treacherously. Fear, and the pit, and the 18 snare, are upon thee, O inhabitant of the earth. And it shall come to pass, that he who fleeth from the noise of the fear shall fall into the pit; and he that cometh up out of the midst of the pit shall be taken in the snare: for the windows on high are opened, and the foundations 19 of the earth do shake. The earth is utterly broken, the earth is clean dissolved, the earth is moved exceedingly. 20 The earth shall stagger like a drunken man, and shall be moved to and fro like a hut; and the transgression thereof shall be heavy upon it, and it shall fall, and not rise again.

of the text, such as 'in the Nile-arms,' 'on the mountains,' &c., but the reading and interpretation 'light-regions,' = the eastern countries, commends itself, as it furnishes a satisfactory contrast to 'coast-lands of the west' (*lit.* 'of the sea') which immediately follows. Instead of **isles** read with R. V. marg. 'coast-lands.'

16. Like strains of rejoicing come from the 'borders of the earth'—Ethiopia or Persia it may be. But the poet regards the situation in quite other than exultant mood, and exclaims: 'I feel a wasting sickness, . . . woe is me! Traitors have dealt traitorously—treachery have the traitors traitorously dealt': note the accumulated iteration of the same word in varied forms—a rhetorical device of which our writer constantly avails himself.

18. Universal panic in the presence of the cataclysm of Divine judgment. Respecting the **windows on high**, or in the firmament, see Gen. vii. 11, and article 'Cosmogony' in Hastings' *DB*.

19. For the **earth is clean dissolved**, &c., we should substitute the more exact rendering—'the earth is shattered to pieces, the earth violently swayed to and fro.'

20. The **hut** or booth erected for the protection of the garden or vineyard was a slight structure made of wattles, reeds, or branches. See Cheyne's *SBOT*. (figure to illustrate Isa. i. 8). It would therefore sway about in a violent wind.

And it shall come to pass in that day, that the LORD 21 shall punish the host of the high ones on high, and the kings of the earth upon the earth. And they shall be 22 gathered together, as prisoners are gathered in the pit, and shall be shut up in the prison, and after many days.

Verses 21-23. The apocalyptic form and colouring become yet more pronounced. We have a final judgment scene which greatly differs from the portrayals of Divine judgment presented by the prophet Isaiah. These latter are judgments limited to individual nations and groups of nations, and the horizons are those of the present age, and of the earth on which we dwell. But we are now introduced to a vaster world which includes the heavens as well as the earth, and to superhuman powers as well as human personalities.

21. Translate : 'the host of the height on the height.' We are moving among the more developed conceptions of later Jewish angelology. God's judgment or visitation will descend upon the evil powers called by St. Paul *ἀρχαὶ, δυνάμεις* or *κυριότητες* (Rom. viii. 38 ; Col. i. 16 ; Eph. i. 21) or *ἐξουσίαι ἐν τοῖς ἐνουπαῖσι* or *τοῦ ἀέρος* (Eph. iii. 10 ; ii. 2), 'the powers in heavenly places' or 'of the air.' We have analogous conceptions in the 'Ascension of Isaiah' and other apocalyptic Jewish works: see article 'Satan' in Hastings' *DB*, p. 411 (left-hand col.).

22. A very slight alteration of our Heb. text based on xxxiii. 4 saves it from the obtrusion of a strange form and makes scarcely any change in sense¹ (see Duhm and Marti). The imprisonment of the hostile angelic powers in a subterranean dungeon is an eschatological conception which meets us in the Book of Enoch (x. 6, 13 ; cf. 2 Pet. ii. 4, and Jude 6). See again Hastings' *DB*, vol. iv. p. 411 (left-hand col. *ad fin.*). Marti observes that we have here advanced considerably beyond the eschatology of Ezekiel. In the latter, as here, we have two acts in the drama. But in Ezekiel the second act consists in the final overthrow of Gog, which seems to be identical with certain predatory hordes from the north (Ezek. xxxix. 2). Here on the contrary, and in striking conformity with Enoch xci. 12-17, the conflict between Yahweh and the nations, and their final overthrow, constitute the first act in the drama, succeeded by an intermezzo which ushers

¹ The proper rendering of our Massoretic Hebrew text would be: 'shall be gathered into a gathering as prisoners . . .'; whereas the proposed emendation should be translated: 'and they shall be gathered (more accurately 'carried away') in a gathering of prisoners unto a pit.'

23 shall they be visited. Then the moon shall be confounded, and the sun ashamed ; for the LORD of hosts shall reign in mount Zion, and in Jerusalem, and before his ancients gloriously.

25 O LORD, thou art my God ; I will exalt thee, I will

in the final judgment of the hostile powers in heaven and on earth, and the creation of God's kingdom in glory. In these verses (21-23) we see clearly the main lineaments of the eschatology which forms the basis of the New Testament Apocalypse (which is mainly Jewish) in Rev. xx, xxi.

We thus observe two great stages in the development of Jewish eschatology. The *first* is constituted by the transition from Isaiah to Ezekiel, which is a transition from the national and partial to the universal. The external cause which contributed to this development was the Exile, which brought the Jew into contact with a more ancient and highly civilized race and into larger relations. The *second* is constituted by the transition from Ezekiel to the later Jewish apocalyptic; and the causes which contributed to its development were the slow operation of Persian and of Greek influence on Jewish religious ideas, which stimulated greatly the growth of angelology and permeated religious thought with conceptions of the transcendent and supramundane.

23. The moon and the sun (properly the 'sun-glow') are the chief representatives of the 'host of the height' overthrown by the might of Yahweh in the day of judgment. Both were sidereal representatives of heathen divinities now degraded to demons. Both now pale to darkness in the presence of the Divine glory. For Yahweh's kingdom in Zion has begun, and He shines with an everlasting light. Cf. Rev. xxi. 11.

be confounded . . . ashamed. The words used in the Heb. original are in reality synonyms, both of which signify 'be ashamed.' The last clause should be rendered 'and before His ancients in glory.' **ancients** mean simply 'elders,' and there is perhaps here a reminiscence of the glory which shone at Sinai before the seventy elders in the incident described in Exod. xxiv. 9-18.

CHAPTER XXV.

Both Duhm and Marti regard verses 1-5 as a song or psalm composed twenty years after the preceding chapter. The city to which reference is made in verse 2, as a fortress-city reduced to ruins, they identify with Samaria, completely destroyed between 111 and 107 B.C. by the sons of John Hyrcanus. We have already remarked on the extreme improbability of so late a date

praise thy name ; for thou hast done wonderful things,
even counsels of old, in faithfulness *and* truth. For 2
 thou hast made of a city an heap ; of a defenced city
 a ruin : a palace of strangers to be no city ; it shall
 never be built. Therefore shall the strong people 3
 glorify thee, the city of the terrible nations shall fear
 thee. For thou hast been a strong hold to the poor, 4
 a strong hold to the needy in his distress, a refuge
 from the storm, a shadow from the heat, when the blast
 of the terrible ones is as a storm against the wall. As 5

for any prophetic writing. Cheyne would identify the city with Tyre, captured by Alexander the Great in 332 B. C. This is intrinsically more probable, but appears to us too early a date. Perhaps it is not necessary to understand 'city' in verses 2 and 3 as special, but as collective. In Dillmann-Kittel's commentary the overthrow of Sidon by Artaxerxes Ochus is the event suggested as supplying the occasion for this song.

1. We seem to have here an echo of the phrase 'wondrous counsellor' in ix. 5 (Heb.) [6 R. V. and A. V.]. Accordingly it would be best to render :—

‘For Thou hast executed wondrous counsels
 Which from old have been truth in verity.’

2. The word for **palace** (*armōn*) might perhaps be more correctly rendered 'fortress.'

3. The 'violent' or 'despotic' nations mean pre-eminently those which have been hostile to the Jews. The expression seems to be an echo of Ezek. xxviii. 7, xxx. 11, xxxi. 19, xxxii. 12.

4. The translation of the LXX renders little help in this and the following verse, and is evidently based on an inferior and corrupted text. The interpretation of the last clause is uncertain. (a) It might be regarded as a temporal clause, as A. V. and R. V. take it, or as causal ; we prefer the latter. (b) **storm against the wall** is strange and obscure. Does it mean a storm that *breaks down* walls, as Rashi, Gesenius, and Hitzig understand it ? This is a stronger and more intelligible conception than the weak one of a storm *beating against the wall*. Far more probable is the slight change of text or, properly vocalization (adopted by Vitringa, Lowth, Duhm, and many others), involved in the reading *ker* (instead of *kir*), meaning 'winter.' Translate, therefore : 'For the blast of the violent ones is as a winter rain-storm.'

5. The language here is very elliptical, and recent commentators

the heat in a dry place shalt thou bring down the noise of strangers ; as the heat by the shadow of a cloud, the song of the terrible ones shall be brought low. And in this mountain shall the LORD of hosts make unto all peoples a feast of fat things, a feast of wines on the lees, of fat things full of marrow, of wines on the lees well refined. And he will destroy in this mountain the face of the covering that is cast over all peoples, and the veil that is spread over all nations. He hath swallowed up death for ever ; and the Lord GOD will wipe away tears

are disposed to regard this verse, with the last clause of the preceding, as a prosaic gloss added to the Psalm. ‘Like scorching heat in a dry place [by means of a cooling breeze] Thou bringest low the wild tumult of strangers ; like scorching heat by means of a cloud’s shadow He (i. e. Yahweh) subdues the triumphant song of the violent.’

6. Here the style and rhythm as well as general sense seem to follow in natural sequence upon chap. xxiv. **This mountain** in verses 6, 7 is the ‘mount Zion’ of xxiv. 23. The feast here described may be compared to that which is celebrated with sacrifices at the opening of a new reign 1 Sam. xi. 15 (Saul); 1 Kings i. 9, 25 (Adonijah). Translate: ‘a banquet of rich dainties, a banquet of wine-lees, marrowy rich dainties, wine-lees refined.’ By ‘wine-lees’ is meant the lees of wine left standing after fermentation¹.

7. Suffering and sorrow are to be put away. They are spoken of here as a covering perhaps in allusion to the custom of mourning apparel.

8. Even death is to be destroyed. LXX make death the subject of the sentence: ‘Death hath devoured with prevailing power.’ On the other hand, the version of Theodotion renders

¹ It is impossible in this commentary to go deeply into questions of text which presuppose an intimate acquaintance with Hebrew. An examination of the LXX clearly reveals the existence of another and much briefer Hebrew text. The beginning of verse 7 reads in the LXX: ‘They shall anoint themselves with myrrh upon this mountain,’ which has a certain aspect of probability, since it fits in with the context (cf. verse 6). The word for ‘covering’ in the original, viz. *löt*, was read as *löt*, i.e. *ladanum*, a fragrant resin obtained from the leaves of the *cistus villosus* known to the Assyrians (*ladunu*).

from off all faces ; and the reproach of his people shall he take away from off all the earth : for the LORD hath spoken it.

And it shall be said in that day, Lo, this is our God ; 9 we have waited for him, and he will save us : this is the LORD ; we have waited for him, we will be glad and rejoice in his salvation. For in this mountain shall 10 the hand of the LORD rest, and Moab shall be trodden down in his place, even as straw is trodden down in the water of the dunghill. And he shall spread forth his 11 hands in the midst thereof, as he that swimmeth spreadeth forth *his hands* to swim : and he shall lay low his

'Death has been swallowed up unto victory,' the Hebrew verb for 'destroy' (or in marg. R. V. 'swallow up') being pronounced as a passive (*Pual*). This is the reading and interpretation followed by St. Paul in 1 Cor. xv. 54. It gives an Aramaic force to the Heb. *lāneyah* ('for ever'), which LXX and Theodotion alike render 'unto (or into) victory.' The concluding part of the verse is echoed in Rev. xxi. 4.

Verses 9-12 might be called a song of praise to Yahweh for victory won and the hope that Moab will be overthrown.

9. A more idiomatic rendering would be :—

Behold, there is our God
For whom we have waited, that He might help us ;
There is Yahweh for whom we have waited ;
Let us exult and be glad in His help.'

10. The last clause should be rendered 'as a heap of straw is trodden down amid a dung-heap.' The hostility between Moab and Judah was specially accentuated in the days of Nebuchadnezzar and king Jehoiakim (of Judah), when bands of Moabites united with the Ammonites and Syrians (or more probably *Edomites*) in overrunning the southern kingdom in conjunction with the Babylonian armies (2 Kings xxiv. 2). The Jews never forgot or forgave these outrages from sister-nations in the hour of their calamity (Jer. xlvi. 10; Zeph. ii. 8-10; Ezek. xxv. 8 foll.). It is possible that *Moab* is a term here used as typical of a hostile nation.

11. Moab in his plight stretches out his hands to defend himself, like a swimmer struggling for life amid the waters. But all in vain ; Yahweh frustrates his skilful strokes.

and he shall lay low . . . i. e. Yahweh. Perhaps with

12 pride together with the craft of his hands. And the fortress of the high fort of thy walls hath he brought down, laid low, and brought to the ground, even to the dust.

26 In that day shall this song be sung in the land of Judah : We have a strong city ; salvation will he appoint
2 for walls and bulwarks. Open ye the gates, that the righteous nation which keepeth truth may enter in.
3 Thou wilt keep *him* in perfect peace, *whose* mind is

Delitzsch and R. V. (marg.) we should render the last clause : 'despite the skilful strokes of his hands.'

12. 'Yea, thy steep towering walls hath He cast down, brought low, levelled to the earth, even to the dust.' Notice, again, the characteristic accumulation of phrase.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Another song of rejoicing at victory over foes and of thankful trust in God. Duhm consistently follows his theory of the late authorship of these chapters, and sees here, in the reference to the strong walls of Jerusalem (verse 1) and the humiliation of another city (verse 5), as well as to the increase of the people's population and territory (verse 15), clear allusions to the time when John Hyrcanus had newly strengthened the defences of Jerusalem and had destroyed Samaria. In other words, the song refers to events immediately past or enacting. Kittel, on the other hand, refers the whole poem to the future. This latter view is confirmed by the closing verses. The poem seems to be crowded with assonances and plays on words¹ (cf. verse 3).

1. *that day* probably refers back to the preceding verses xxv. 10 foll., viz. the time of Moab's downfall. The last clause should be rendered : 'as protection (or help) he sets walls and bulwarks.' The word *ḥēl*, rendered 'bulwark,' properly signifies a *glacis* or rampart plated in front of the actual fortress-wall (Greek *πορείχισμα*).

2. 'keeping truth,' i. e. preserving its fidelity to the God of the Covenant.

3. The original is far from clear. Probably, omitting the second word for *peace*², we should render : 'A disposition firmly

¹ So Duhm; but see below, the remarks on verse 3.

² The repetition of the word 'peace' (*shālōm*) in the original is considered to express emphasis (a characteristic Hebrew usage), and

stayed on thee : because he trusteth in thee. Trust ye in 4 the LORD for ever : for in the LORD JEHOVAH is an everlasting rock. For he hath brought down them that 5 dwell on high, the lofty city : he layeth it low, he layeth it low even to the ground ; he bringeth it even to the dust. The foot shall tread it down ; even the feet of 6 the poor, and the steps of the needy. The way of the 7 just is uprightness : thou that art upright dost direct the

established 'Thou keepest in peace' (so Delitzsch) ; but there are many other interpretations. Some (as Dillmann and Guthe) would connect it with the preceding (verse 2), and would break up the verse thus ; 'Their mind (viz. of those who are righteous and keep truth') is firmly established ; thou wilt keep peace—a very clumsy sentence. In any case the repetition of the word for 'peace' (*shālōm*) in our Hebrew text is a difficulty. But there are other grounds for suspecting the text, and a comparison with the LXX, who render 'taking hold of truth and maintaining peace' (which forms a natural sequence to verse 2), leads us in some instances to see in what Duhm calls 'assonances and plays on words' nothing more than expansions of the text due to dittography or to conflate reading. The last clause of the verse may be rendered 'for in Thee it (i. e. the disposition) trusts' ; but the LXX in their rendering show that we ought to begin the next verse with this concluding clause. Connect it, therefore, with verse 4, and with a slight emendation of text render as follows : 'For in thee, O Lord, they have assuredly trusted for ever.'

4. Duhm is certainly right in following the LXX by omitting the words **in the LORD**. Accordingly render : 'For Yahweh is an everlasting rock.'

5 repeats the phraseology of xxv. 12.

6. Comparison with the LXX indicates that the repetition **foot . . . foot** is due to a conflate reading or combination of variants. Probably the word 'feet' should be deleted, and we should translate : 'The foot of the poor shall tread it down' (so Duhm).

7. Instead of **thou that art upright** translate : 'Thou dost level straight the track of the righteous.' The language of the song here becomes proverbial or gnomic.

is thus rendered in R. V. by '*perfect peace*' The word rendered 'mind' or 'disposition' (Skinner), occurring in Gen. vi. 5, viii. 21 ; Deut. xxxi. 21 ; 1 Chron. xxviii. 9, xxix. 18, is especially employed in this sense in later Hebrew.

8 path of the just. Yea, in the way of thy judgements, O
 9 LORD, have we waited for thee; to thy name and to thy
 memorial is the desire of our soul. With my soul have
 I desired thee in the night; yea, with my spirit within
 me will I seek thee early: for when thy judgements are
 in the earth, the inhabitants of the world learn righteous-
 ness. Let favour be shewed to the wicked, yet will he
 not learn righteousness; in the land of uprightness will
 he deal wrongfully, and will not behold the majesty of
 the LORD.

11 LORD, thy hand is lifted up, yet they see not: but
 they shall see *thy* zeal for the people, and be ashamed;
 yea, fire shall devour thine adversaries. LORD, thou
 12 wilt ordain peace for us: for thou hast also wrought all
 13 our works for us. O LORD our God, other lords beside
 thee have had dominion over us; but by thee only will

8. For *memorial*, which is misleading, read ‘praise.’ The soul yearns for God’s glory. The writer was evidently familiar with Hebrew literature, especially Hos. xii. 6, xiv. 8; Ps. vi. 6, cii. 13, where the same word is used in the sense of ‘praise,’ ‘glory.’

9. With R. V. marg., render ‘seek thee diligently.’

10. The first clause should be translated as conditional: ‘If the wicked be treated with favour, he learneth not justice.’ Also render by present tenses, ‘dealeth wrongfully, . . . beholdeth . . .’

11. Similarly render: ‘Though Thy hand hath been raised, yet they behold not. May they be dumbfounded as they behold the zeal for a people [i. e. Yahweh’s zeal on behalf of His faithful Israel]; yea, may the fire kindled against Thine adversaries devour them.’ The ‘raising of Yahweh’s hand’ refers to His deliverances of Israel (i. e. Israel’s victories) in the past.

12. Render: ‘mayest thou ordain.’ The verbal form is jussive or optative, as in verse 11.

13. The latter part of this verse seems hardly to admit of any legitimate construction. It is best, therefore, with Duhm to assume that the line is defective, a view which the LXX version confirms. Render, therefore, the latter part of the verse as two clauses, a portion of the first being lost: ‘Only in Thee . . . we will make mention of (i. e. praise) Thy name.’ This verse, as we have already observed on p. 270, in the Introduction to this

we make mention of thy name. *They are* dead, they ¹⁴
 shall not live; *they are* deceased, they shall not rise:
 therefore hast thou visited and destroyed them, and
 made all their memory to perish. Thou hast increased ¹⁵
 the nation, O LORD, thou hast increased the nation;
 thou art glorified: thou hast enlarged all the borders of
 the land.

LORD, in trouble have they visited thee, they poured ¹⁶
 out a prayer when thy chastening was upon them.

group of oracles, presupposes a long retrospect of past history. The other lords who have exercised dominion over Israel are the Egyptians, Syrians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians, and perhaps the Greeks since 330 B. C.

14. More correctly translated: 'The dead shall not live, nor will shades (*manes*) arise.' The reference here is to the ancient lords of verse 13, who have now passed away, and no longer exercise dominion. They 'leave not a rack' behind.

15. While these old enemies of Israel have perished, Israel itself has prospered.

The perfects here cannot be rationally interpreted as prophetic perfects (as Delitzsch, Orelli, and others propose).

thou art glorified is not so accurate a rendering of the original as 'Thou hast glorified Thyself.'

thou hast enlarged, *lit.* 'Thou hast put far off,' i. e. hast extended (the frontiers of the land). The reference is here to Israel's past—especially in the days of David and Solomon.

16. Render with R. V. (marg.) 'in trouble they looked for (or sought for) Thee.' The rest of this verse is difficult. R. V. gives perhaps as good a rendering as can be extorted from the Hebrew text as it stands, though it is extremely doubtful whether *lahash*, which properly means an incantation (or magical amulet), can bear the signification of *prayer*. By a slight change in punctuation Koppe and Dillmann, followed by other commentators, including Duhm, obtain the rendering: 'The constraint of magic was Thy chastisement unto them.' Magic played a considerable part in the lives of all ancient peoples—particularly in Babylonia (cf. xlvi. 12 foll.) and Egypt; even the Jews were deeply infected with it, sorcery being chiefly carried on by women, as a graphic passage in Ezek. xiii. 18 foll. clearly shows. This was God's chastisement to His people. This is, it must be confessed, a far-fetched conception, and the original Hebrew word for 'constraint'

17 Like as a woman with child, that draweth near the time
of her delivery, is in pain and crieth out in her pangs ;
18 so have we been before thee, O LORD. We have been
with child, we have been in pain, we have as it were
brought forth wind ; we have not wrought any deliver-
ance in the earth ; neither have the inhabitants of the
19 world fallen. Thy dead shall live ; my dead bodies
shall arise. Awake and sing, ye that dwell in the dust :

is an assumed form. Accordingly more drastic emendations of the text have been attempted, (*a*) by Cheyne, who would read the first person plural, as in verses 17 foll. : ‘In stress we sought Thee, cried out because of oppression when Thy chastisement was upon us.’ (*b*) Houbigant’s attempt does not carry emendation so far, since the verb remains in third person plural : ‘They cried out because Thy chastisement oppressed them.’ These are the best endeavours to deal with a very problematic verse.

17. The stress of discipline through which God’s people, the Jews, were passing is portrayed in another graphic simile : ‘As a pregnant woman that comes near to giving birth writhes, cries out in her pangs.’ The metaphor frequently occurs in the O. T. Cf. Hos. xiii. 13 ; Mic. iv. 10, &c.

18 is another difficult verse. But in the present case the text is more fully sustained by the LXX. Probably we ought to lighten it by dropping out the Hebrew word for *as it were*, which seems to be a corruption. It would be safest to follow the R. V. rendering. The last clause, *neither have the inhabitants of the world fallen*, is a strange form of expression. Here, however, ‘have fallen’ is to be taken in the sense of ‘have been born.’ There is warrant for such a meaning for the Hebrew verb, which properly signifies ‘fall.’ Cf. the Greek *καταπίεσθαι* in Wisd. of Sol. vii. 3 ; see also the following verse. This usage seems to be a late one. The general drift of the passage is that there is a paucity of inhabitants in Palestine : cf. xxiv. 10-12 above. The imperfect tenses in Hebrew express the idea of permanence in misfortune. The use of the word *wind* for ‘vanity,’ ‘emptiness,’ ‘nothingness’ is not infrequent : Hos. xii. 1 (2 in Heb.) ; Eccles. i. 14 ; Isa. xli. 29.

19. A clear intimation of a belief in the Resurrection. Not a prayer (as Kittel takes it), but a confident expectation (so Delitzsch, Orelli, and Duhm). It expresses ‘the contrast between vain human endeavours and the potent Divine aid which forms the dominating thought of verses 15-18’ (Marti).

for thy dew is *as* the dew of herbs, and the earth shall cast forth the dead.

Come, my people, enter thou into thy chambers, and ²⁰ shut thy doors about thee: hide thyself for a little moment, until the indignation be overpast. For, behold, the LORD cometh forth out of his place to punish the inhabitants of the earth for their iniquity: the earth also shall disclose her blood, and shall no more cover her slain.

In that day the LORD with his sore and great and ²⁷

herbs (cf. 2 Kings iv. 39) is a misleading interpretation of the original. Render:—

'Dew of lights is Thy dew, and the earth shall bring shadows to the birth.'

'Dew of lights' signifies dew from the uppermost heavenly regions where Yahweh, Lord of Life, dwells: cf. Ps. civ. 2; Dan. ii. 22, and also Enoch li. 1, 2. Here the causative of the Hebrew verb for 'fall' is employed in a sense corresponding to that in the preceding verse ('have been born').

xxvi. 20—xxvii. 1. These verses, as well as the general contents of chap. xxvii, confirm the view taken of the preceding poem (chap. xxvi), that it refers to the future and not to events which are immediately past or already enacting.

20. God's people are advised to retire into seclusion and await the consummation of God's judgments. The conceptions are somewhat parallel to Matt. xxiv. 16–20. The language becomes thoroughly apocalyptic in tenour.

21. The Lord descends (strictly 'goes forth') from His place (viz. in the heavenly heights) to visit the iniquities of the inhabitants of the earth upon them. We here recur to a corresponding apocalyptic portrayal of judgment to that which is contained in xxiv. 18–23. In the latter passage hostile angelic powers and kings of the earth are also punished (xxiv. 21 foll.). To this we have a correlate in the Leviathans and dragon of the present passage (xxvii. 1).

CHAPTER XXVII.

This chapter is a patchwork of fragments.

1 evidently belongs to the apocalyptic series of verses 20, 21 of the preceding chapter.

For **sore** we had better substitute either 'relentless,' 'ruthless,'

strong sword shall punish leviathan the swift serpent, and leviathan the crooked serpent ; and he shall slay the dragon that is in the sea.

2, 3 In that day : A vineyard of wine, sing ye unto it. I

or ‘unbending’ (in reference to its material). The identification of the three animal forms here presented is a matter of conjecture, and commentators have differed widely as to the precise identification to be adopted. Nearly all, however, are agreed that national world-powers are meant, and not the supernatural powers ‘of the height’ represented by constellations, as xxiv. 21, to which we have referred as a parallel, might suggest in combination with Job xxvi. 12, 13. Rather should we bring the ‘kings of the earth’ in xxiv. 21 into comparison with the present passage.

The dragon (*tannin*) that is in the sea is evidently the *Crocodile*, which represents as a symbolic form Egypt or its Pharaoh. This is fairly clear from general O.T. usage—Ezek. xxix. 3, xxxii. 2; Isa. li. 9; Ps. lxxxiv. 13, and other passages. The ‘sea’ here means the ‘Nile,’ as in xix. 5; Nah. iii. 8. More difficult of identification are the two shapes called *leviathan*. The term *leviathan* as the name of a mythical monster meets us not infrequently in the O. T. literature of the Exile period and subsequently. Its origin is probably to be found in the old Semitic Babylonian legend of *Tiamat*, the female dragon-personification of the chaotic dark watery depth which in the Babylonian creation-epic comes into conflict with *Marduk* god of light, and is slain by him, and whose body forms the material out of which the firmament is made. See article ‘Cosmogony’ in Hastings’ *DB.*, p. 505, and Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, pp. 45 foll. The same ancient Babylonian legend is reflected in the conception of *Rahab* pierced or hewn in pieces by *Yahweh* (Isa. li. 9). What is specially meant by the ‘flying serpent’ here (a phrase which is an evident echo of the same Isaianic expression in xiv. 29), or by the enigmatic figure of the ‘coiled (or twisted) serpent,’ it is impossible to determine. It is most improbable that either Assyria or Babylonia is meant. If the view adopted in this commentary as to the probable date of this group of chapters be correct, both these powers were historically too remote in the past to come into consideration here. The former might possibly designate the Persian and the latter the Greek empire, as Hilgenfeld suggests. We are disposed, however, to regard even the Persian empire as lying too far in the past.

Verses 2-6 are a lyrical idyll of Israel, *Yahweh’s* vineyard, which reminds us strongly of Isa. v. 1-5, and suggests the possibility that we have here in verses 2, 3 a genuine Isaianic fragment woven

the LORD do keep it ; I will water it every moment :
lest any hurt it, I will keep it night and day. Fury is 4
not in me : would that the briers and thorns were
against me in battle ! I would march upon them, I

into the texture of apocalyptic. Verse 6 is certainly an addendum. The original poem, therefore, seems to be contained in verses 2-5, constituting, according to Duhm's arrangement, two stanzas of six short lines each. Very grave problems arise in connexion with it. (1) Its presence embedded in this chapter. It is quite irrelevant to the context. Both with the brief apocalyptic section which precedes and with the strange conglomerate of verses which follow it has absolutely no connexion¹. (2) The LXX rendering here, as in the entire chapter, raises very serious questions as to text. Yet it can hardly be doubted that the original Hebrew which underlay that version was a debased copy.

2, 3. We had better adopt the sounder text here which the LXX suggest (as also the Targum) and is to be found in some MSS. The alteration of the original *hemer*, 'ferment-wine,' to *hemed*, 'pleasure,' is very slight, and has innumerable parallels in other O. T. passages (cf. above, pp. 114 note, 156, &c.). So Ewald, Delitzsch, Duhm, and Marti (and also R. V. marg.). Render therefore :

A charming vineyard, sing unto it ;
I Yahweh am keeping it,
Every moment am watering it ;
Lest its leafage be missing
Night and day do I guard it.'

In the last line but one of this rendering a very plausible emendation has been adopted, which certainly relieves the construction.

4. A difficult and obscure verse. LXX, followed by Peshitto, read the Hebrew for 'fury' (or 'wrath') as another word with different vowels rendered 'wall,' which Grätz-Bredenkamp would adopt, but no satisfactory sense is thereby obtained. On the other hand it seems best with Duhm to connect this clause 'Wrath I have not' with the preceding. The writer evidently had chap. v. 1 foll. in mind ; but here a sharp contrast in Yahweh's feeling towards Israel is to be noted. In chap. v. 5 foll. (cf. Ezek. xvii. 9 foll.) Yahweh turns in bitter disappointment upon His vineyard, Israel, which had so completely disappointed all His watchful care and His fond hopes. Chastisement is to come upon Israel for wicked disobedience.

¹ Perhaps the simplest solution of this difficulty would be to assume (with Duhm) that between verse 1 and verse 6 there was a lacuna in the text or perhaps an illegible gap. This was filled up by this brief poem, which can scarcely be said to be apocalyptic in character.

5 would burn them together. Or else let him take hold of my strength, that he may make peace with me; yea, 6 let him make peace with me. In days to come shall Jacob take root; Israel shall blossom and bud: and they shall fill the face of the world with fruit.

7 Hath he smitten him as he smote those that smote

It is quite otherwise here. Israel has learned his lesson, and the days of wrath are past. ‘Wrath have I none.’

In what immediately follows it would be best to desert the Massoretic accents of our Hebrew text (with Delitzsch and Cheyne). Accordingly render:—

‘Let one give me¹ thorns, thistles!
In war would I march against them (*lit.* ‘it’),
Would set them on fire together’—

meaning that if there be obstacles to Israel’s progress (like thorns or thistles in the vineyard), e.g. heathen dwellers in the land or foreign invaders, I will attack them and burn them like stubble. The expression ‘in war’ breaks through the metaphor and describes the reality which the metaphor is intended to cover.

5 contemplates another possibility:—

‘Or should one take hold of my strong defence,
Let him make peace with me,
Let him make peace with me.’

The language is very obscure. The meaning seems to be that if any of the heathen, opponents of God’s people, desire to take refuge in the covenant blessings of His kingdom, they may make peace with Him. Thus the verse forms a natural sequence to verse 4. Marti attempts a reconstruction of the text on the basis of the LXX, but it is difficult to see any satisfactory result.

6 is evidently an addendum descriptive of Israel’s future growth and prosperity.

Verses 7-11 are beset with difficulties. They have no connexion with verses 2-6, and moreover their internal coherency is far from clear: verse 8 has no grammatical connexion apparently with verse 7, and is placed by Duhm and Cheyne as a sequence to verse 10.

7 begins abruptly, without any indication of subject or object. We may assume, however, that the subject is Yahweh, and the

¹ In the original it is the expression of a wish = ‘Would that there were’—equivalent to a strongly-emphasized condition (Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebrew Grammar*²³, § 151^{a, b}).

him? or is he slain according to the slaughter of them that were slain by him? In measure, when thou sendest her away, thou dost contend with her; he hath removed her with his rough blast in the day of the east wind.

object His own people Israel referred to in verse 9 (Jacob). Inserting the missing subject and object into our rendering to give it clearness, it would read thus:—

'Hath Yahweh smitten His people, as He hath smitten him who smote them,
Or were they slain like the slaughtering of him who slew them?'

We have here altered the vowel points in several instances. This we will explain in one case: i. e. the Hebrew word for 'him who slew them' is an active instead of a passive participle (as the Massoretic Hebrew text makes it). This re-establishes the parallelism ('him who smote them . . . ' 'him who slew them'). This has the support, moreover, of the LXX and Pesh.

The answer to the question is of course 'No.' Yahweh has not inflicted such chastisement on Israel as He has upon Israel's foe, who in time past dealt so hardly with Israel.

8. The interpretation of this verse is so difficult and uncertain that no attempt will be made to discuss all the details. Render: 'Scaring¹, driving her forth, He² came into conflict with her; cast her forth with His ruthless blast in the day of the east wind.'

her in this verse cannot be explained as a reference to a divorced wife (cf. l. 1) as Dillmann-Kittel's commentary violently assumes. The most probable explanation is that the verse has been displaced, and we have in the feminine herē a reference to the 'city' of verse 10, which is Jerusalem, the inhabitants of which have been driven into exile and subjected to disciplinary chastisements. The reference is to Divine dealings in the past. The east wind refers to the Eastern peoples, Assyrians and Babylonians more especially. On the metaphor cf. Hos. xiii. 15; Jer. xviii. 17.

¹ We have (with most recent authorities) taken this as an infinitive form in Hebrew from a verb signifying 'to urge on' animals (with the cry used by the Arabs *sda*). The rendering 'according to measure,' adopted by Aq., Sym., Vulg., Targ. (as though the word was to be connected with the *seah* measure), is obviously inappropriate and certainly doubtful as to language.

² We prefer to follow the LXX and read the third person instead of the second. 'He' of course means Yahweh.

9 Therefore by this shall the iniquity of Jacob be purged, and this is all the fruit of taking away his sin ; when he maketh all the stones of the altar as chalkstones that are beaten in sunder, *so that* the Asherim and the sun-images shall rise no more. For the defenced city is solitary, an habitation deserted and forsaken, like the wilderness : there shall the calf feed, and there shall he lie down, and consume the branches thereof. When the boughs thereof are withered, they shall be broken off ; the women shall come, and set them on fire : for it is a people of no understanding ; therefore he that made them will not have compassion upon them, and he that formed them will shew them no favour.

12 And it shall come to pass in that day, that the LORD shall beat off *his fruit*, from the flood of the River unto

9 does not follow unnaturally on verse 8. The discipline is not without effect. 'Therefore in this the iniquity of Jacob shall be expiated, and this shall be the entire removal of his sin, when he makes all the altar-stones like battered lime-stones, while Asherahs and sun-pillars no longer stand.' The word *this* in both clauses points to the temporal or conditional sentence, 'when he (i.e. Jacob) makes all the altar-stones,' &c., Israel will destroy all traces of heathen worship, and by this act will show that his iniquity is completely expiated. On Asherah see note on xvii. 8, and on sun-pillar see article 'Pillar' in Hastings' *DB*.

10. The original Hebrew for *consume the branches* in the last clause is very unusual. Duhm attempts to amend the text, but it is safer to accept it as it stands. For the future tense 'shall feed' . . . 'shall lie down,' substitute the present 'feed,' 'lie down.' The events here described are God's judgments on Jerusalem before and during the Exile to which verse 8 also alludes. The passage seems to be an echo of the Isaianic oracles (v. 17, xxxii. 13, 14) respecting the future of Judah and Jerusalem.

11. Here also the future tenses should be changed into *present*: 'are broken off . . . come . . . has no compassion on them . . . shows them no favour.'

Verses 12, 13 bring this apocalyptic section to a close. The great diaspora of the Jewish race throughout Egypt and Western Asia are to be gathered together. The metaphor used is that of beating

the brook of Egypt; and ye shall be gathered one by one,
O ye children of Israel.

And it shall come to pass in that day, that a great trumpet shall be blown; and they shall come which were ready to perish in the land of Assyria, and they that were outcasts in the land of Egypt; and they shall worship the LORD in the holy mountain at Jerusalem.

[I] Woe to the crown of pride of the drunkards of 28

out the grain from the ears. The rendering from the flood (Ps. lxix. 2, 15 [Heb. 3, 16]) is misleading. Render: 'Yahweh shall beat out from the ears of the River [Euphrates] unto the brook of Egypt.' River was the standing Hebrew name for the Euphrates, the brook of Egypt is the well-known Wady el Arish (LXX Rhinocorura).

12. one by one: *lit.* 'one to the other'; with care for each individual that not one may be lost. A characteristic touch anticipatory of much that is most precious in the Gospels. The same conception is reinforced in the concluding verse. The great trumpet is blown (cf. Zech. ix. 14, in later apocalyptic it constantly appears; Matt. xxiv. 31; 1 Cor. xv. 52; 1 Thess. iv. 16; Rev. viii. 9).

13. For which were ready to perish, read with R. V. (marg.) 'the lost,' the Jewish exiles in the foreign land who have gone astray, and were in danger of losing their nationality and membership as sharers in Israel's covenant blessings. These have now their privileges assured to them in the Divine kingdom of which Zion is the centre. Cf. xxiv. 23, xxv. 6 foll.; Zech. xiv. 16 foll.

CHAPTERS XXVIII—XXXII.

We now come to a cycle of prophetic discourses in which God's great purpose concerning Zion is thrown into sharp contrast with the foolish schemes of the politicians in Jerusalem. This is unfolded in the first chapter of the series (chap. xxviii), in which, after threatening Samaria with the disaster which is soon to befall her, and a scathing denunciation of her drunken aristocracy, the prophet turns his rebuke upon Judah's religious leaders, both priest and prophet (verses 7 foll.), whom he convicts of similar vices of intemperance. In verse 16 the definite purpose of Yahweh is announced that He has laid in Zion 'a tried stone, a corner-stone of precious solid foundation.' That the opening verses of this chapter were uttered by Isaiah while Samaria was

Ephraim, and to the fading flower of his glorious beauty, which is on the head of the fat valley of them that are

still standing, and not long before the investing armies of the Assyrians surrounded the city, may be regarded as certain. This fixes the date as about 725 B.C., not many months after the remarkable deliverance of the prophet (ix. 7—x. 4, v. 25–30), which is also directed against Ephraim. But it is not by any means so certain that xxviii. 7 foll. belong to so early a date. This question will be considered later. It is, on the other hand, almost certain that chaps. xxix–xxxii belong to a date considerably later, when Judah was seriously imperilled by Assyria, and the siege of Jerusalem was felt to be impending (xxix. 1, xxxiii. 10). Hezekiah at that time must have definitely adopted the policy of revolt from Assyria and alliance with Egypt. We know that alliance with Egypt had become the policy of the Palestinian states in 711 B.C. (cf. chap. xx and notes); but, as we have already pointed out, it was not till 708 B.C. that Egypt recovered from its weakness, and was in a position to render any effective aid against the encroachments of Assyria. It is, therefore, fairly certain that chaps. xxix–xxxii belong to the early years of Sennacherib's reign, 705–702 B.C.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

We are reminded of the prophetic warnings of Amos addressed to the luxurious nobles, ‘who trust in Samaria's mount,’ who recline on ivory divans, and postpone the evil day. (Amos vi. 1, 3, 4). There is no evidence, however, that Isaiah was acquainted with this oracle discoverable in the internal indications of his own prophecy in this chapter. Probably not less than twelve years separated the time when the older prophet uttered his warnings from the time when the younger pronounced with yet greater clearness the doom of Ephraim's fortress city.

xxviii. 1–4. In these verses we have two seven-lined strophes. In verses 3 and 4 (beginning) at the opening of the second strophe the phrases which commence the first recur. We note that the interjection Ah! (Woe!), which so frequently stands in Isaiah's oracles at the beginning of a new strophe (v. 8–22 repeatedly, x. 1, 5), occurs at the beginning of this oracle (similarly xxix. 1, 15, xxx. 1, xxxi. 1).

1. The drinking habits of the wealthy in Samaria resembled the vices of the upper classes in contemporary Jerusalem (cf. v. 11, 12, 22). The ‘proud crown’ here is probably the circle of towers which girdled Samaria, a town not only of great natural strength but also of great beauty. Cf. Byron's description of Venice and her ‘tiara of proud towers’; the parallel clause shows

overcome with wine ! Behold, the Lord hath a mighty
and strong one ; as a tempest of hail, a destroying storm,
as a tempest of mighty waters overflowing, shall he cast
down to the earth with the hand. The crown of pride 3
of the drunkards of Ephraim shall be trodden under
foot : and the fading flower of his glorious beauty, which 4
is on the head of the fat valley, shall be as the firstripe
fig before the summer ; which when he that looketh
upon it seeth, while it is yet in his hand he eateth it up.
[R] In that day shall the LORD of hosts be for a crown of 5

us that we are to picture the crown as a floral wreath, 'the fading flower of his beauteous array.' The prophet describes Samaria as the head of a drunken reveller, encircled with a wreath of fading flowers. Probably the appearance of the city easily leant itself to this conception; a solitary, round, terraced hill standing in a fertile valley, Bädeker, *Palestine and Syria*², p. 224.

The construction of the last clause in the original is complicated. Kittel is disposed to omit the expression 'fertile valley' (*i.e.* 'valley of fatness') as a phrase that has crept into the text from its proper place in verse 4. He would therefore simplify the construction by merely reading 'on the head of those who are overcome (or smitten) with wine.' Most commentators adhere to the text. Kittel's proposed omission has no support in the LXX.

2. as a tempest of hail probably introduces a relative clause, and we should render 'one who like a hail-storm . . . casts down to the ground with violence.' The R. V. (marg.) rightly substitutes the idiomatic translation 'with violence' for the literal with the hand. The prophet is prone to this vivid description of an Assyrian invasion, as an overflowing, devastating flood, cf. viii. 7, 8. The 'mighty and strong one' is obviously Assyria personified.

4. Translate 'as an early ripe fig before the harvest,' which was esteemed a great delicacy. It ripens in June, whereas the rest come to maturity in August (Hos. ix. 10; Mic. vii. 1). It is so much sought after that no sooner is it seen than it is greedily devoured. The fate of Samaria is to be quickly consummated. As a matter of history, we know that Assyria did not succeed in devouring Samaria in quite so summary a fashion. Its siege lasted two years (2 Kings xviii. 10).

Verses 5, 6. Two verses follow prefaced by the formula to which the student of Isaiah has now become accustomed, in that day. It

glory, and for a diadem of beauty, unto the residue of his people : and for a spirit of judgement to him that sitteth in judgement, and for strength to them that turn back the battle at the gate.¹ [I] But these also have erred through wine, and through strong drink are gone astray ; the priest and the prophet have erred through strong drink, they are swallowed up of wine, they are gone astray through strong drink ; they err in vision, they

is very improbable that they were written by Isaiah¹. Most recent critics, including Duhm, Hackmann, Cheyne, Kittel, and Marti, are agreed that they were added later, perhaps by the collector of this small group of prophecies (so Duhm), who may also have included chap. xxxiii. It is a 'Messianic pendant' (Skinner). Samaria's fortress—'the proud crown'—has fallen, but Yahweh Himself will be the true glory of His people. Marti compares a like pendant in iv. 2-6, a message of comfort to stricken Jerusalem, whose plight is portrayed in the verses that precede (iii. 24—iv. 1).

6. turn back the battle to the gate. The conception is that the enemy have penetrated into the town and are driven back to and out of the town gates once more by the valour of the inhabitants.

Verses 7-22. We are once more in an Isaianic passage. Verses 7-13 are a denunciation of priests and prophets whom Isaiah seems to have surprised at some sacrificial banquet in a state of gross intoxication. Verses 14-22 are addressed to the political leaders. Whether verses 14 foll. belong to the same date as the preceding verses is very doubtful. The mention of the 'scourge' can only refer to the strong apprehension of an Assyrian invasion. This can hardly apply to any date earlier than 711, and may be even later. On the other hand, it is quite possible that verses 7-13 were composed at a considerably earlier time, i.e. in the reign of Ahaz.

7. 'And these also go astray through wine,' i.e. wander about aimlessly in their intoxication. For are gone astray in the second clause in the R.V. read (with the marg.) 'stagger.' 'And these also' evidently points back to the drunkards of Ephraim in verse 1 ; the pronoun **these** points to the priest and prophet in the following

¹ It is quite true that many of the words are such as Isaiah uses, but this is partly due to the fact that the passage is based on what precedes. The writer evidently studied Isaiah's oracles. Hence the words 'crown,' 'glory,' 'beauty,' 'residue' are Isaianic, but the word for 'diadem' is only found in Ezek. vii. 7, 10.

stumble in judgement. For all tables are full of vomit and filthiness, so that there is no place clean. Whom will he teach knowledge? and whom will he make to understand the message? them that are weaned from the milk, and drawn from the breasts? For it is precept upon precept, precept upon precept; line upon line,

line. There is evidently no connexion between this verse and verses 5, 6. Render: 'They have gone astray through strong drink, and through wine wander distraught'.

The judgment here referred-to means the decision given by the priest, to whom appeal was made in difficult cases (*Exod. xxii. 8*; *i Sam. ii. 25, xix. 17, xxi. 5*), but his mind was too confused with drink to decide aright.

8. The tables are those of sacrificial feasts. The excesses that took place, especially at the Feast of Tabernacles or Ingathering, when the vintage was ended, were no uncommon feature (*i Sam. i. 13* foll.; *Amos ii. 8*), and awakened Isaiah's wrath (*xxii. 13*). The last clause should be rendered 'so that there is no room.'

Verses 9, 10. Isaiah's scathing rebukes to the drinking priesthood arouse their anger, and they indignantly ask: 'Whom will he teach, &c. Instead of message Duhm would render 'oracle.' The reference seems to be to a prophetic deliverance.

9. them that are weaned . . . ? i.e. Are we mere children? Weaning took place at the age of one or two years in Hebrew families, see *Hebrew Antiquities* (Religious Tract Society), p. 23.

10. The original *tsaw latzaw tsaw latsaw, kaw lakaw kaw lakaw* is a mocking conformation of Isaiah's message to a nurse's child-prattle. We might attempt to reproduce it by 'Law on law, law on law; saw on saw, saw on saw'; a bittie here and a bittie

¹ Barth in his *Beiträge zur Erklärung des Jesaia*, 1885, p. 4 foll., has shown that the verb here rendered 'are swallowed up' should be rendered 'wander distraught.' There are, in fact, two distinct verbs with the same root-characters, one of which means 'to swallow up' and the other 'to stray,' 'be distracted.' Cf. Isa. ix. 16 [Heb. 15], where the parallelism clearly shows that we should render 'led astray' (not 'destroyed' or 'swallowed up' with R. V. and R. V. marg.). Similarly iii. 12, xix. 3; Psi. iv. 10, civ. 27.

² 'Saw' instead of 'saying' for the sake of the rime. 'Bittie' is selected as representative of the diminutive form in the original. Olshausen, *Heb. Formenlehre*, § 180; Ewald, *Ausführl. Lehrbuch*, § 167 a; cf. Socin, *Arabic Grammar*, § 66. The reference is to *petra*

11 line upon line ; here a little, there a little. Nay, but by
 12 men of strange lips and with another tongue will he
 13 speak to this people : to whom he said, This is the rest,
 give ye rest to him that is weary ; and this is the
 refreshing : yet they would not hear. Therefore shall
 the word of the LORD be unto them precept upon
 precept, precept upon precept ; line upon line, line upon
 line ; here a little, there a little ; that they may go, and
 fall backward, and be broken, and snared, and taken.

there.' The literal rendering would be : 'Commandment on commandment, commandment on commandment, rule on rule, rule on rule.' But the words are purposely abbreviated and reduced to rime in the Hebrew. The priests attempt to convey the impression of stale and wearisome iteration in the prophet's message.

11. The prophet replies to the taunt : 'Yea, with stammering speech and a foreign tongue will He speak to this people,' i.e. with the stammering jargon of foreign speech—the counterpart of your own mocking caricature of a prophet's message. The foreigners are the Assyrians who will invade the kingdom. Through their foreign speech God will in the hour of chastisement mock the scorner.

12. Render : 'He who said unto them : "This is the resting-place." ' The utterance was doubtless clearly understood at the time in this brief form in which it was uttered. But in its conciseness it seems to us very obscure. Probably this means Jerusalem. The prophet refers to God's purpose that Jerusalem should be preserved and be a resting-place to His faithful ones amid the storms of Assyrian invasion. Apparently this was the burden of Isaiah's message at this time (cf. viii. 6), accompanied by the Immanuel word of comfort which the inhabitants of Jerusalem rejected in the early years of the reign of Ahaz.

The close of the verse should read : 'This is the place of refreshment ; but they refused to hear.' This was Isaiah's bitter experience in the early years of his ministry reflected in his consecration-vision, vi. 9 foll.

13. The prophet hurls back on the priests their own words of

instructions ; but the use of the word in Job. xxxvi. 2 in reference to time, like a similar collateral form (*mīṣ'ar*) in Isa. x. 25, xxix. 17, has led Ewald, Hitzig, Duhm, and Marti to render : 'A little time here, a little time there.'—We see no mimicry of a drunkard's stammering here..

Wherefore hear the word of the LORD, ye scornful ¹⁴
men, that rule this people which is in Jerusalem : Be-¹⁵
cause ye have said, We have made a covenant with
death; and with hell are we at agreement ; when the
overflowing scourge shall pass through, it shall not come

mockery : Yes, you treat my message as ‘Law on law, saw on
saw.’ That is all that it means to you. You prepare the way for
your own doom, ‘that they may go and stumble backwards’
(with a change to the third person).

14. The prophet now turns to the political rulers.—For **scornful**
read ‘scoffing.’ Whether this and the following verses belong to
the same or to a later period is uncertain.

15. The expressions **covenant with death** and ‘agreement
with Hades’ are obscure, and various explanations have been
offered. On the whole it seems most probable that these are
references to the arts of sorcery and necromancy which were
largely practised at this time. To these we have already had
several references in Isaiah’s oracles (ii. 6, viii. 19 ; cf. xxix. 4).
There is, however, no ground for associating these superstitions
here with Egypt and an Egyptian alliance (as Marti suggests).
In ii. 6 they are connected rather with the ‘East,’ i.e. Babylonia
or perhaps North Arabia. In times of national peril a people is
specially prone to the cult of necromancy and holding converse
with the dead (1 Sam. xxviii. 5 foll.). Zion’s rulers thought not
of the ‘instruction and the testimony’ (see viii. 19 and note), nor
of Immanuel and the resting-place Jerusalem (verse 12), but of
mysterious necromantic rites and the voices of the dead that
‘chirp and mutter’ ; and so they lulled their forebodings to rest
with the assurance : ‘When the scourging scourge passes by, it
shall not come to us.’ In this rendering we have adopted the
slight but, as it seems, almost necessary emendation of Duhm,
which saves us from such a monstrous mixture of metaphors as
overflowing scourge (similarly in verse 18). The verb *shātaf*,
‘overflow’ or ‘flood,’ occurs appropriately at the close of verse 17,
and has been introduced here by a careless copyist. See also its
use in reference to the Assyrian invasion in verse 2 ; cf. also
viii. 7, 8. On the other hand, our Hebrew text, with its mixture
of metaphor, is sustained by the LXX version, which is evidently
based on the same reading. We have here to deal with a very
nice question of literary criticism, and the probabilities are evenly
balanced. Could the mixture of metaphor be admitted in a passage
where the prophet is yielding to the impetuous flow of his thought,
and in the following clause interpolates his own epithets *lies* . . .

unto us ; for we have made lies our refuge, and under
 16 falsehood have we hid ourselves : therefore thus saith
 the Lord God, Behold, I lay in Zion for a foundation a
 stone, a tried stone, a precious corner *stone* of sure
 foundation : he that believeth shall not make haste.
 17 And I will make judgement the line, and righteousness
 the plummet : and the hail shall sweep away the refuge
 of lies, and the waters shall overflow the hiding place.

falsehood¹ into the speech of his interlocutors, who obviously held firmly to their superstitions and never thought of them as delusions? If we have an oxymoron in one case why not in another?

16. Isaiah is not destructive only. Instead of the false security of mysterious rites and the 'covenant' with the world of the dead which he sweeps aside, he constructs a safe basis for a nation's hope. 'Behold I have founded (so render with LXX, Pesh., Targ., and recent commentaries) in Zion a stone, a stone well tested, a corner stone of precious, solid foundation.' This is an idiomatic rendering of the Hebrew text, which is a remarkable series of abstract substantives : 'a stone of testing, a corner stone of preciousness, of foundation well founded.'

Fear not, therefore, though the Assyrian enemy is advancing to our gates, 'He who believes [in this sure foundation] shall not take hasty flight.' This gives us an excellent sense ; but the LXX evidently had another text : 'shall not be ashamed.' Cheyne in his Commentary (third edition), followed by Guthe and Duhm, would render 'will not give way,' based on yet another proposed reading.

17. We have here set forth the ethical principles of Zion's sure foundation : Right—Justice. The metaphor of a building is maintained. 'And I will make judgment the measuring line, and righteousness the plummet.' Isaiah uses one of the words, *Kaw*, employed by the mocking priests (verse 10). Cf. Zech. i. 16, where it is employed, as here, in a special and technical sense of a builder's measuring line (distinct from the meaning in verses 10, 13).

The shock of the dread reality of Assyrian invasion will sweep away the delusions of the ruling classes like a hail-storm. Duhm, Cheyne, and Marti would cancel the Hebrew for *mees* from the text as an unnecessary gloss. But the LXX had the word in their text, and its presence is thoroughly appropriate.

¹ Cf. Mic. ii. 11 ; Jer. v. 31

And your covenant with death shall be disannulled, and 18
 your agreement with hell shall not stand ; when the
 overflowing scourge shall pass through, then ye shall be
 trodden down by it. As often as it passeth through, it 19
 shall take you ; for morning by morning shall it pass
 through, by day and by night : and it shall be nought,
 but terror to understand the message. For the bed is 20
 shorter than that a man can stretch himself on it ; and
 the covering narrower than that he can wrap himself in
 it. For the LORD shall rise up as in mount Perazim, he 21
 shall be wroth as in the valley of Gibeon ; that he may
 do his work, his strange work, and bring to pass his act,

18. disannulled : more strictly ‘blotted out.’ We have here a recurrence to the ideas and figures of verse 15.

ye shall be trodden down by it is a free reproduction of the original, which is more closely rendered : ‘Ye shall be unto it an object trodden upon.’ The pronoun **it** refers of course to the scourge.

19. The scourge shall be no transitory thing : ‘So often as it passes by, it will take you, and it shall be sheer terror to understand the tidings.’

20. The use of the homely metaphor suggests that the prophet is here quoting some popular proverb. The drift is fairly obvious. The prophet is still addressing his warning to the rulers, and says to them in effect, the terrible facts of life (viz. the ‘scourge’ of Assyrian invasion) show clearly that religious principles (sorcery and necromancy, ‘the covenant with death’) are too narrow and inadequate to meet the need. Not religious ceremony and magic divorced from moral action, but the broad principles of eternal right, are the great need of the nation and the true foundation of its prosperity.

21. As in David’s Philistine wars (a Sam. v. 20 foll.) Yahweh will now manifest His power. The rendering of the last clause in R.V. is not in accordance with Hebrew grammar, which would properly require the insertion of the article before the adjective. As the Hebrew text stands the adjective must be treated as predicative¹. Translate, therefore : ‘As at the Valley in Gibeon shall He be impassioned in doing His deed,—outlandish is His deed ;—and in working his work,—strange is His work !’

In a Sam. v. 20 **mount Perazim** is called ‘Ba’al Perāšim,’ since

¹ See Gesenius-Kautzsch., *Hebrew Grammar*^{2d}, § 326. a.i. 1

22 his strange act: Now therefore be ye not scorers, lest your bands be made strong: for a consummation, and that determined, have I heard from the Lord, the LORD of hosts, upon the whole earth.

23 Give ye ear, and hear my voice; hearken, and hear my speech. Doth the plowman plow continually to sow? doth he *continually* open and break the clods of

Baal was constantly worshipped on mountain heights (cf. Baal-zephôn, Baali-râs in the Hauran, mentioned in Shalmaneser II's Annals, Schrader, *COT.*, i. pp. 200, 202 footnote). Perhaps the word Baal originally stood here and was removed through the scruples of Jewish redactors, and the word for 'mountain' substituted, or, more probably, Isaiah himself in such a discourse would avoid the name of Baal; cf. Hos. ii. 16 foll. [Heb. 18 foll.]. Gibeon here and in 1 Chron. xiv. 16 is a variant on the Gebâ' of 2 Sam. v. 25.

22. In such critical times of national peril the rulers are exhorted not to 'behave themselves as mockers,' since the prophet has received his message of 'complete destruction and a decisive doom.'

Verses 23-29 seem to be placed here in order to mitigate the effect of the preceding words, and the heart-breaking message they convey. It is a parable of the country farmer labouring on the soil, and of the wisdom that directs him. We are reminded of the poetic idyll of chap. v. 1 foll. The purport of the parable is to show that, like the husbandman, Yahweh is not for ever ploughing or breaking up the soil. The ploughing is for a contemplated end—the sowing, and the processes are, moreover, varied according to the character of the grain or of the plant (verses 27, 28). So with God's own plans and processes. They are designed for great moral ends, and nicely proportioned to the characters of the human subjects. Life is wise and ordered discipline. The present or impending 'scourge' will not be for ever. It will pass and yield to the sowing and the reaping. These applications of the parable the prophet leaves to be inferred.

The lines here are shorter:—

'Hearken and hear my voice,
Attend and hear my speech!
Doth the plougher *always* plough for the sowing,
Open and harrow the soil?'

¹ This opening reminds us of Lamech's song, Gen. iv. 23, 24.

his ground? When he hath made plain the face thereof,²⁵
 doth he not cast abroad the fitches, and scatter the
 cummin, and put in the wheat in rows and the barley in
 the appointed place and the spelt in the border thereof?
 For his God doth instruct him aright, *and* doth teach²⁶
 him. For the fitches are not threshed with a sharp²⁷
threshing instrument, neither is a cart wheel turned
 about upon the cummin; but the fitches are beaten

The word 'always' (*lit.* 'all the day') in the original is attached to the interrogative, and is the emphatic word at the beginning of the sentence.

25. 'Doth he not, when he levels its surface,
 Scatter black cummel, sprinkle cummin,
 And set wheat and barley,
 And spelt as its border?'

LXX show that dittoigraphy, or the doubling of a word through a copyist's carelessness, has added words to our Hebrew text which ought to be rejected and never existed in the Hebrew text employed by the Greek translators. The Hebrew student will at once recognize that the Hebrew word for 'row' (R. V. *in rows*), viz. *sōrah*, is really a repetition of the word for 'barley,' *s'orah*. A similar remark applies to the Hebrew word for *in the appointed place* (R. V.), which is an altogether strange form. The LXX version of this portion of Isaiah's oracles is far more exact and careful than in other places. Its testimony therefore must be treated with deference.

26. We follow Marti in inserting the word *Yahweh* at the beginning of this verse. This word, owing to its abbreviation, has been accidentally dropped out:—

'Yahweh hath guided him as to the right course.¹
 His God instructs him.'

him of course means the husbandman or farmer.

27. The prophet now indicates in brief how reasonable is the variety of agricultural processes employed. 'Black cummel is not threshed with threshing-sledges, nor the cart-wheel turned round over cummin.' The staff or some heavier stick (a club) is used in *beating*. Not *threshing* with a sledge is the process required. A threshing-sledge therefore is not employed. God

¹ In Heb. *mishpāt*, usually 'judgment,' but here used in the sense of 'right course' or 'custom'; cf. 1 Sam. viii. 9, 11.

28 out with a staff, and the cummin with a rod. Bread corn is ground; for he will not ever be threshing it: and though the wheel of his cart and his horses scatter 29 it, he doth not grind it. [I?] This also cometh forth from the LORD of hosts, which is wonderful in counsel, and excellent in wisdom.

yaries His processes—the Divine Husbandman on this great world-farm.

28. The first line should be rendered as an interrogative. This seems to be the only way of getting a satisfactory sense. Translate :—

‘Is bread-corn crushed?
Nay, not for ever doth he thresh it.’

So nearly all recent commentators. If we follow the Hebrew text before us we should render :—

‘And though he drive his cart-wheel and his horses [over it]
He does not crush it.’

But this destroys the rhythm and proportionate length of the lines. By a slight textual change Duhm restores the due length of the lines and the rhythm. It is best, therefore, to follow him and translate :—

‘And though he drive his cart-wheel [over it]
He scatters it without crushing it.’

The last line refers to the custom of casting the stalks of corn into the air so that the moderate wind may carry away the straw and chaff, and the grain falls and is collected together. Ezekiel uses this custom as a metaphor, xvii. 21. See *Primer of Hebrew Antiquities* (Religious Tract Society), p. 92, and figure opposite p. 86.

29. The processes of husbandry are the outcome of Divine insight. They proceed from God, ‘who has shown marvellous counsel and great wisdom.’ Duhm regards the concluding verse as written by Isaiah. It possesses, however, something of the style of the wisdom literature, and the word for *wisdom* in the last clause is never found elsewhere in Isaiah’s writings, but frequently occurs in the wisdom literature of post-exilian times, especially the Book of Job. It is, therefore, not improbable that we have here the conclusion to the poem added by a post-exilian gnomic poet; though, on the other hand, it is quite possible that Isaiah wrote it himself. It is impossible to dogmatize on so narrow a basis.

[I] Ho Ariel, Ariel, the city where David encamped! add 29
ye year to year; let the feasts come round: then will I 2

CHAPTER XXIX.

Dire Peril of Jerusalem. Siege by Sennacherib, 703-701 B.C. We have already stated that it is not improbable, though by no means certain, that verses 14 foll. in the preceding chapter belonged to a considerably later period than the verses that went before. The 'scourge' seems to be at hand to smite. It is possible that verses 14 foll. were written about 711 B.C., in the days when Sargon was attacking Philistia. In any case the present chapter shows that the crisis of Judah's fate has arrived; the enemy is at the gates or advancing towards them. This chapter seems to be placed here in immediate succession to chap. xxviii, since it portrays the impending fate of Zion, while xxviii. 1-4 deal with that of Samaria.

1-4. Jerusalem's dire peril. Her doom is near.

1. The word **Ariel** is a problematic word, and various interpretations have been advanced. A concise list will be found in *Enc. Bibl.* under article 'Ariel.' Formerly commentators supposed with Eusebius (viz. Gesenius, Ewald, and Kuenen) that this signified *God's lion* (cf. 2 Sam. xxiii. 20), 'Zion being regarded,' as Dillmann says, 'as strong as a lion through God, queen among all cities (Mic. v. 7), a lioness towards her oppressors, an unconquerable royal city of God. That is her dignity and position. So much deeper becomes the mystery that she should be so hard pressed.'

Another and more probable view is suggested by a comparison with the inscription on the Stone of Mesha', line 12: 'And I brought back from thence (i.e. 'Ataroth') the altar-hearth (*aral*)¹ of Dawdoh.' Here the name written D W D H is probably a name for Yahweh (see note on chap. v. 1). See Driver, article 'Meaha' in *Enc. Bibl.*, and Bennett, article 'Moab' in Hastings' *DB*. We recognize the same word *aral* or *arel* in Ezek. xlivi. 15, where it has the same sense (see Kraetzschar on the passage). Accordingly render with Duhm:—

'Ah! altar-hearth, altar-hearth, city where David encamped,
Add year unto year, let the feasts run their round.'
Accordingly the word should be read Aral or Arel, and not Ariel².

¹ The hearth where the fire burns is called in Arabic *irat*, from a root *ard*, 'to burn,' 'be burnt'; the *l* in the Hebrew form *aral* is a derivative addition (cf. Carmel, where the final *l* is attached to *kerem*, vineyard).

² Cheyne, who is here followed by Marti, would read this form as

distress Ariel, and there shall be mourning and lamentation : and she shall be unto me as Ariel. And I will

What is the conception that underlies the passage ? The prophet contrasts the immediately impending future of the city with the glorious and now distant past. It is now the close of the year's festive cycle (i. e. of the old Hebrew-Canaanite year which began in autumn, not of the post-exilian (Babylonian) ecclesiastical year which began in *Nisan* or spring). The Feast of Ingathering (Tabernacles) has reached its close, which brought vividly before the people the conception of the Temple and its altar-hearth of Divine worship. The thoughts of the prophet go back to the heroic days of David (as in xxviii. 21), when he encamped in the city stronghold which is soon to be invested and filled with panic and grief (verse 3 foll.). There seems, therefore, to be bitter irony in the prophet's words 'Add year to year,' &c. when the doom seemed so near at hand. The tone of feeling reminds us of another oracle composed probably somewhat later (xxii. 1 foll.). The note of confidence in Jerusalem the resting-place (xxviii. 11, 16 foll.) was not always strictly maintained.

2. mourning and lamentation does not express the assonance of the original, this love of assonances being characteristic of Isaiah. Cheyne's 'moaning and bemoaning' is therefore preferable as a rendering. Substitute 'moaning' for 'lamentation' in R. V.

In all probability we should read the second person feminine instead of third person in the last clause (so Duhm): 'And thou shalt be unto me as an altar-hearth,' not reeking with the blood of oxen or sheep, but with the blood of slain human victims—a gruesome suggestion which the context readily supplies. The slight change proposed by Duhm has much intrinsic probability, and makes the entire passage more harmonious in form.

3. The LXX here read the Hebrew word *dûr* as *David* (i. e.

Uriel, an old name for Jerusalem corresponding to the *Urusalim* of the Tell el Amarna inscriptions (see article 'Ariel' in *Enc. Bibl.*). Upon this Duhm (in the second edition of his commentary) makes the pungent criticism: 'Who among Isaiah's readers would have been able even to read this archaeological riddle, to say nothing of guessing it ?' But in the days of Isaiah this was not a matter of mere 'archaeology.' In the Taylor cylinder of Sennacherib, which was contemporary with Isaiah, Jerusalem is called *Ursalimu* (col. iii. 8. 20). On the other hand, the theory seems to us far-fetched, as there is not the slightest indication that among the *Hebrews* the city was ever known by such a name as *Uriele*.

The identification by Jeremias of Ariel with the Babylonian *Ardlu* in the Lower World may be safely rejected.

camp against thee round about, and will lay siege against thee with a fort, and I will raise siege works against thee. And thou shalt be brought down, and shalt speak out of the ground, and thy speech shall be low out of the dust; and thy voice shall be as of one that hath a familiar spirit, out of the ground, and thy speech shall

David), another illustration of the easy confusion of the characters for *d* and *r*. This reading Lowth, Bredenkamp, Cheyne, and Marti have adopted. The reference to David in verse 1 (and in xxviii. 21) lends a certain plausibility to this view. It is, however, much more probable that *Dûr* is the correct reading, and means here a *surrounding rampart* or fortress, as in Assyrian¹. The parallelism of the entire verse becomes thereby consistent:

‘And I shall encamp against thee as a rampart,
And beleaguer thee with outposts
And erect against thee fortifications.’

4. An idiomatic rendering, bringing out the full force of the parallelism, would be—

‘And thou shalt be low in thy speech from the earth,
And from the dust abased shall thy utterance come,
And thy voice shall sound like a ghost from the earth,
And from the dust shall thy utterance chirp.’

This vivid passage portrays the deep dejection of the city caused by the siege, conveyed under the metaphor of a necromancer who speaks from some recess in the earth with low tones. The necromancer was supposed to be possessed by (or, as the Hebrew name expresses it, to be the *possessor of*) a spirit or ‘ghost’ (Heb. *ôb*), which spoke through him with a hollow utterance: cf. viii. 19, foll. and notes.

Verses 5–8. It hardly seems possible to regard these verses as forming an immediate sequence to the preceding, in which the desperate plight of Jerusalem is portrayed. In all probability we have here a fragment of another discourse on the same theme, Ariel (Aral), in which the note of confidence in Jerusalem’s

¹ Employed in the proper names Dûr-Athara, Dûr-Sharrukîn, &c. See Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handwörterbuch* sub voce *dâru*. If we follow the hint of the LXX adopted by Lowth, Cheyne, and others, we are forced to give an unnatural signification to verse 1, and interpret it as meaning not ‘city in which David encamped and which he fortified,’ but ‘city against which David encamped,’ apparently in allusion to 2 Sam. v. 6 foll. (1 Chron. xi. 4 foll.). But such an historic allusion would hardly be appropriate here.

5 whisper out of the dust. But the multitude of thy foes shall be like small dust, and the multitude of the terrible ones as chaff that passeth away: yea, it shall be at an 6 instant suddenly. She shall be visited of the LORD of hosts with thunder, and with earthquake, and great noise, with whirlwind and tempest, and the flame of a 7 devouring fire. And the multitude of all the nations

inviolability is expressed as in xxviii. 11, 16 foll. Even Isaiah had his alternating moods of dismay and hope. Here, as in the closing verses of chap. xxviii (viz. verses 23-29), the editor of the collection contrives that the brighter passages shall relieve the darker.

5. Render 'the tyrants' instead of the terrible ones. Thy foes mean the foes of Jerusalem who are encamped against her.

6. This verse can be rightly understood only in the light of what precedes and follows¹. Jerusalem's visitation from the Lord of Hosts is not a visitation of destruction, but of deliverance. The 'thunder, earthquake and loud noise; the tempest, hurricane, and flame of devouring fire' are to be directed against Zion's enemies. Cf. Ps. xviii. 6-18 (Heb. 7-19).

7. This is followed by the metaphor of a dream-vision. 'Like the baseless fabric of this vision' the uproar of foreign armies

¹ In all probability the last clause of verse 5 should be connected with verse 6: 'Then in a moment suddenly from Yahweh God of Hosts shalt thou be visited in thunder and earthquake, &c.' (So Cheyne and Duhm.) The passive (*Nif'al*) of the Hebrew verb for 'visit' is used in Prov. xix. 23, Num. xvi. 29, of visitation by calamity, but this furnishes no argument as to Isaianic usage. The active (*kal*) form is usually employed of calamitous visitation. But in its primitive sense of 'take oversight of' the verb is employed in a favourable sense in Exod. iii. 16; Jer. xxiii. 2. Also the fem. abstract in Heb. (rendered 'visitation') may be used in a favourable sense (Job x. 12) as well as in an unfavourable, punitive one. The latter is more usual.

There is, therefore, no sufficient reason to separate verse 6 from verse 5 as Cheyne and Duhm propose. The former regards verses 5, 7, and 8 as non-Isaianic interpolations which are prophecies of deliverances. Verse 6, in which 'shall be visited' is interpreted in an unfavourable sense ('will receive punishment'), is considered to form a natural sequence to the Isaianic passage verses 1-4. This view is intelligible, though in our opinion it breaks up verses 5-8 unnecessarily. Duhm divides verses 5-8 into three distinct fragments, a solution of the problem which is needlessly complex.

that fight against Ariel, even all that fight against her and her strong hold, and that distress her, shall be as a dream, a vision of the night. And it shall be as when an hungry man dreameth, and, behold, he eateth; but he awaketh, and his soul is empty: or as when a thirsty man dreameth, and, behold, he drinketh; but he awaketh, and, behold, he is faint, and his soul hath appetite: so shall the multitude of all the nations be, that fight against mount Zion.

Tarry ye and wonder; take your pleasure and be

encircling Jerusalem will disappear. The word for **multitude** is a poetic term to which Isaiah is prone (cf. xvii. 12), and properly means 'tumult' or 'roar.' Cheyne translates 'hotde.' We might render 'tumultuous throng of all the foreign peoples that march to war against the Altar-hearth.' The text that immediately follows this is far from certain. Probably the rendering of the reconstructed text should be 'and against her rampart and those that distress her.'

8. The metaphor of the illusive phantoms of dreams is here continued. For **hath appetite** substitute the stronger rendering 'craves (for drink).'

Verses 9-14 contain a severe rebuke from the prophet against the dull spirit of unintelligent amazement with which his deliverances are greeted by the people. A further course of strange Divine discipline awaits them (verse 14). Does this brief discourse follow immediately upon the preceding 1-4 (or 5-8)? Duhm denies this on internal grounds. There is no riddle in verses 1-4, 6, 7 (which Duhm recognizes as Isaianic). Most critics, however, do not share this view, but consider that verse 9 describes 'the stupid amazement which the so-called "riddle" of Ariel has produced in the prophet's audience' (Cheyne, *Introduction to Isaiah*). 'We see no improbability in this if we assume that the date of verses 1-8 can be placed in 703 B.C., two years or more before Sennacherib's invasion, when the rulers of Judah felt no apprehensions of coming disaster, and could discern no sufficient grounds for this feeling. Cheyne adopts this date (*ibid.* p. 190).

9. 'Linger and be dumbfounded' would be the most correct rendering of our Hebrew text. But there is some doubt as to the actual form of the first word, and recent scholars would therefore prefer to render with R. V. (marg.) 'be ye amazed.' The following clause should be translated 'be dazzled and blind;

blind : they are drunken, but not with wine ; they
 10 stagger, but not with strong drink. For the LORD hath
 poured out upon you the spirit of deep sleep, and hath
 closed your eyes, the prophets ; and your heads, the seers,
 11 hath he covered. [I?] And all vision is become unto
 you as the words of a book that is sealed, which men
 deliver to one that is learned, saying, Read this, I pray
 12 thee : and he saith, I cannot, for it is sealed : and the
 book is delivered to him that is not learned, saying
 Read this, I pray thee : and he saith, I am not learned.
 13 [I] And the Lord said, Forasmuch as this people draw

or we might render as in R. V. (marg.) ‘blind yourselves and be blind.’ This unintelligent, unreceptive attitude of the countrymen of Isaiah was no new fact. It confronted him at the opening of his ministry, chap. vi. 9, 10 : cf. xxviii. 9-13.

In the concluding part of the verse the LXX evidently regarded the verbs as imperatives, ‘be drunken . . . stagger.’ This lends greater symmetry to the verse.

10. The words *prophets* and *seers* were evidently explanatory glosses introduced into the text to interpret the words *eyes* and *heads*. They must have been inserted into the Hebrew text and become current in comparatively early times, since we find them in the LXX. We have, however, already had several examples of such glosses—viz. vi. 13 (ad fin.), vii. 8 (ad fin.), 17 (ad fin.), &c.

Verses 11, 12. We suddenly pass from poetry to prose. Some of the phraseology is strange to Isaiah, notably the word rendered ‘vision.’ Accordingly Cheyne is quite justified in saying that the passage, ‘if Isaianic in origin, has at any rate been recast’ (*Introduction to Isaiah*, p. 190). Probably the original document was defective at this point, and the verses may have been re-written by a scribe in simple prose instead of prophecy.

11. *all vision* is a wrong rendering. Render ‘vision (or revelation) of the whole,’ i. e. all future events. Also the word *book* is misleading. Substitute ‘document’ or ‘writing.’ By *learned* is meant ‘one who understands writing,’ which is a more literal rendering. Cheyne appropriately translates by ‘a man who is a scholar.’ The simile is used to describe the general incapacity of the ruling classes to understand God’s revelations through His prophet. They might be called illiterates in spiritual life, who had not mastered even its very alphabet.

Verses 13, 14 are obviously Isaianic both in form and substance,

nigh unto me, and with their mouth and with their lips do honour me, but have removed their heart far from me, and their fear of me is a commandment of men which hath been taught them ; therefore, behold, I will proceed to do a marvellous work among this people, even a marvellous work and a wonder : and the wisdom of their wise men shall perish, and the understanding of their prudent men shall be hid.

Woe unto them that seek deep to hide their counsel 15

and are closely connected with the preceding verses. They are a rebuke to hollow, insincere formalism.

13. The clauses are wrongly divided in R. V. Render :—
 ‘Because this people draw nigh with their mouth,
 And with their lips do me honour, though their heart withdraws
 far from me,
 And their fear of me has become mere precept of men learned
 by rote.’

Isaiah here strikes a note already familiar to us in i. 10 foll., and heard in earlier days from the prophet Amos, v. 21 foll. (cf. Mic. vi. 6–8; Ps. 1. 8 foll.) ‘Fear of Yahweh’ is the ordinary Hebrew way of expressing the word ‘religion.’ This in Isaiah’s days had become mere conventional tradition and ceremonialism.

14. The translation should be : ‘Therefore, behold, I will yet further¹ do wondrous things to this people, wonders wondrously’ (so Ewald). In the light of their Divine dealings the wisdom of Judah’s rulers shall pale and perish.

Verses 15–21. The prophet now proceeds to deal with this poor human wisdom of the Jewish politicians, which is destined to come to nought. These work in secret as though they can act apart from God. As well might the clay ignore the potter. This underlying conception of human self-sufficiency inverting man’s true relation to God has already met us in other connexions and with other applications. Cf. especially Isa. x. 7–15. In a short time a great change shall be wrought. The deaf shall hear, the blind see, the poor shall rejoice in Yahweh, and tyranny shall disappear (verses 17–21).

To what political schemes does Isaiah refer of which God does not approve and which are being carried out in secret ? We are here touching the moving spring, the main underlying motive, not

¹ The Hebrew verb represented by this adverb should be read as a *kel* particle. Cf. the same use of *kel* in Gen. xxxviii. 26; Sam. viii. 13, xv. 35, &c.

from the LORD, and their works are in the dark, and
16 they say, Who seeth us? and who knoweth us? Ye turn things upside down! Shall the potter be counted as clay; that the thing made should say of him that made it, He made me not; or the thing framed say of him

hitherto definitely expressed, which has been operating in the mind of Isaiah through most of the oracles in this group of discourses in chaps. xxviii.-xxxii., viz. his stern opposition to an alliance with Egypt, which was actively promoted by a strong party in Jerusalem since the death of Ahaz (715 B.C.), and especially since the recovery of Egypt's power (708 B.C.). It was the weakness and procrastination of Egypt that was the ruin of Ephraim in 722, to which xxviii. 1-4 refers. It is not till we come to the following Isaianic section, xxx. 1-5, also beginning with the exclamatory particle Ah! (Woe!), and also to the further section with a similar beginning, xxxi. 1-9, that express mention is made of Egypt and of the policy of those who 'take refuge in its shadow' (xxx. 3). See Introduction, p. 31 ff. There can, therefore, be no doubt that the counsel which the rulers, denounced in verses 15 foll., are 'hiding deep from Yahweh' (verse 15) is the alliance with Egypt which was then secretly yet actively promoted.

16. The rendering of R. V. (marg.), 'O your perversity!' ought to be substituted for the A. V. and R. V. Both Duhm and Marti regard this and the following verses as a later addition. The arbitrary dictum of these critics, that the metaphor of the potter and the clay, the creator and the creature, does not belong to the ancient world in which Isaiah lived, which rather conceived of God's relation to man as that of a King to His people, need not detain us. The very word used in the early pre-exilian creation account (J.) for Yahweh's creation (properly 'fashioning' or 'moulding') of man from the soil of the earth (Gen. ii. 7), would be immediately suggestive of the metaphor which Jeremiah employed with such potent effect (xviii. 1-10). That pottery existed in Canaan several centuries before the days of Isaiah needs no demonstration: cf. xxx. 14. The main facts may be gleaned from the writer's *Hebrew Antiquities*, pp. 114-8, and the article 'Pottery' by Bliss in Hastings' *DB*. There is, therefore, no need to go so late as the Deutero-Isaiah (xlvi. 9) to find the source of such ideas in the O. T. To talk of this passage as a 'theological discussion' (Marti) is an abuse of terms. Accordingly we may reasonably assume that this and the following verses (16-21) were uttered by Isaiah, though perhaps touched (as in verse 19) with an occasional phrase by a later editor. See Cheyne, *Introduction*, p. 194.

that framed it, He hath no understanding? Is it not¹⁷ yet a very little while, and Lebanon shall be turned into a fruitful field, and the fruitful field shall be counted for a forest? And in that day shall the deaf hear the words of the book, and the eyes of the blind shall see out of obscurity and out of darkness. The meek also¹⁸ shall increase their joy in the LORD, and the poor among men shall rejoice in the Holy One of Israel. For the terrible one is brought to nought, and the scioner ceaseth, and all they that watch for iniquity are cut off: that make a man an offender in a cause, and lay a snare for him that reproveth in the gate, and turn aside the just with a thing of nought. [Ex.] Therefore²²

17. The transformations in the world of human moral life are accompanied, and not merely symbolized, by transformations in the physical world. See note on v. 9, 10 (ad fin.), where illustrations of this conception of the sympathy between the moral world and the natural are furnished. The last clause recurs in xxxii. 15 (which Duhm acknowledges to be Isaianic). In both passages the forest is a term expressive of rich luxuriance intended to enhance the conception of fertility expressed by the fruitful field or 'fruit-plantation'. So Kimhi, Delitzsch, Orelli, and Guthe. Cf. x. 18. We have, therefore, in this verse an ascending climax: Lebanon, fruit-plantation, forest; similarly in xxxii. 15.

18. We are carried back to verses 11, 12 (Isaiah reduced to prose). There it was the illiterate who could not read: Here it is the deaf who cannot hear. In the former case no remedy for the human incapacity is suggested. Here Divine power works a great change. The deaf hear and the blind see: cf. xxxii. 3. For book (as in verse 11) read 'document' or 'writing.'

19. The meek, i. e. the suffering ones. The language is that of later literature, viz. of the Psalms.

20. For terrible one substitute 'tyrant.'

21. Translate:—

'Who bring men under condemnation by a word (i. e. false witness),

And lay snares for him who in the gate vindicates the right.'

with a thing of nought, i. e. by an empty plea: cf. Amos ii. 7; Isa. x. 2.

Verses 22-24. Various indications point to the conclusion that

thus saith the LORD, who redeemed Abraham, concerning the house of Jacob : Jacob shall not now be ashamed,
 23 neither shall his face now wax pale. But when he seeth his children, the work of mine hands, in the midst of him, they shall sanctify my name; yea, they shall sanctify the Holy One of Jacob, and shall stand
 24 in awe of the God of Israel. They also that err in spirit shall come to understanding, and they that murmur shall learn doctrine.

30 [I] Woe to the rebellious children, saith the LORD,

we are here dealing with a passage which has been attached to Isaiah's discourse by a later writer. Not till the days of Ezekiel and the Exile does prophecy become retrospective, and delight to dwell on the patriarchs by name, a practice which grew in Jewish literature. Here we have an evident reference to a tradition respecting Abraham's life not recorded in the O. T. It is difficult, however, to see any connexion between the 'redemption' of this passage and the elaborate story in the Book of Jubilees, chap. xii, which recounts Abraham's conversation with Terah and the destruction of his father's idols and departure from Ur of the Chaldees. 'Redemption' in the O. T. is usually interpreted to mean some express act of Divine interposition or deliverance as at the Red Sea. Some such interposition in the life of Abraham in Babylonia, or subsequent to his entrance into Canaan, was part of the tradition which prevailed in post-exilian Judaism, and has perished¹.

23. Some recent commentators would delete the words *his children* as a gloss. It stood in the text employed by the LXX, and must have been introduced at an early date.

CHAPTER XXX.

Events have ripened since Isaiah's last discourse was delivered. Hitherto his references to the policy of an Egyptian alliance had been veiled and couched in general terms. Now there is no con-

¹ Unless we adopt the view that there is here a reference to the late tradition of the casting of Abraham into Nimrod's fiery furnace because he refused to worship Nimrod's idol (Targ. of Jonathan on Gen. xi. 28), and his deliverance by a Divine miracle, which is obviously based on the similar narrative in Daniel (chap. iii). But such a supposition is extremely improbable.

that take counsel, but not of me, and that cover with a covering, but not of my spirit, that they may add sin to

cealment. Probably the policy of his opponents had meanwhile become open and avowed. Previously we know that it was cherished and promoted in secret (xxix. 15). The Egyptian party in Hezekiah's court had now succeeded in getting emissaries dispatched with rich presents to the banks of the Nile. The prophet declares that this policy will only bring disgrace (verses 1-7). At this crisis the prophet is told to record in a book, as a permanent testimony for future use, Yahweh's denunciations of His people as rebellious sons, who wish only smooth things to be addressed to them. Calamitous results will follow (8-17). In the crisis of the nation's distress, however, Yahweh will have mercy. A better spirit will come over the people. Idols will be cast aside. Prosperity shall return and the ruins of the past will be restored (18-26). Lastly, Yahweh will personally interpose in a decisive struggle with Assyria. With songs of rejoicing, as on the night inaugurating a festival, will His people greet the awful thunder of His destructive wrath against Judah's foes, and Assyria will shrink in terror before His chastening rod (27-33).

Verses 1-7. Denunciation of Yahweh's rebellious sons and the Egyptian alliance.

1. **that take counsel** is not an accurate translation. Render: 'in that they carry out a purpose, yet not from me.' This clause shows in what the rebellion consists. This policy does not proceed from Yahweh, and has no sanction from Him. There has been considerable variety of opinion from early times as to the meaning of the next clause: see R.V. (marg.). The view adopted by most scholars—Gesenius, Hitzig, Guthe, Duhm, and Marti—follows the interpretations of the early versions, LXX and Peshitto. These render: 'and in that they pour out drink offerings,' i. e. conclude a formal treaty (in allusion to the libations which were customary in these cases: cf. Greek *στονδαι*). Another interpretation follows the rendering given in Aq. and Vulg., viz. 'in that they weave a web' (so Ewald and Delitzsch). The former rendering is perhaps preferable, but in either case we have to assume an unusual signification for a word; moreover, it is extremely doubtful whether the drink-offering was the ordinary and recognized ceremony in the ratification of covenants among Semitic nations. The covenant, as we know, was solemnly ratified by an *animal* offering: cf. Gen. xv¹. It is, therefore, probable

¹ On covenant sacrifice see Paterson in Hastings' *DB.*, article 'Sacrifice,' vol. iv. p. 335 (top of left-hand col.). It must be remembered that, in all such covenant sacrifices with a foreign power, the

2 sin : that walk to go down into Egypt, and have not asked at my mouth ; to strengthen themselves in the strength of Pharaoh, and to trust in the shadow of 3 Egypt ! Therefore shall the strength of Pharaoh be your shame, and the trust in the shadow of Egypt your 4 confusion. For his princes are at Zoan, and his 5 ambassadors are come to Hanes. They shall all be ashamed of a people that cannot profit them, that are not an help nor profit, but a shame, and also a reproach.

that we are to think of the blood of the victim poured on the stone symbol. With reference to *wine* offerings, cf. Hos. ix. 4.

Such a treaty of alliance, we are told, is not concluded 'with my spirit,' i. e. without Divine sanction, announced to them through God's inspired prophets.

The 'heaping of sin upon sin' may have reference to previous acts of similar disloyalty to Yahweh, such as the alliance of Ahaz with Assyria (Tiglath-Pileser III), in the hour of Judah's danger (chap. vii), and similar endeavours to lean upon an Egyptian alliance in the days of Sargon, 711 b. c. (chap. xx). It is to be noted that Isaiah regarded foreign alliances in precisely the same light as the prophet of the northern kingdom, Hosea (vii. 11, x. 6). Or there may be an allusion to sins differing in kind, and Isaiah is thinking of the practices of necromancy (xxviii. 15 and note), to which these further sins of disloyalty to God through foreign alliances were added.

2. These emissaries are already on the way to Egypt 'to find refuge in the refuge of Pharaoh, to seek shelter in the shadow of Egypt' (so we should render).

3. But this will only end in shame and reproach.

4, 5. These next two verses are obscure, and the only rendering which affords a satisfactory sense is the following :—

'For even though his (i. e. Pharaoh's) princes were in Zoan and his envoys reach to Hanes, all would suffer disappointment in reference to a people that brings them no profit, and furnishes no

recognition of the presence and power of the deity of that foreign nation, as well as that of Israel, was involved. And where the treaty implied subordination or vassalage, the national relation of subjection would similarly affect the relation and prestige of the nation's god. For in the nation and the nation's acts the nation's god was in a very *real sense incorporate*.

[R] The burden of the beasts of the South. 6

[I] Through the land of trouble and anguish, from whence come the lioness and the lion, the viper and fiery flying serpent, they carry their riches upon the shoulders of young asses, and their treasures upon the bunches of camels, to a people that shall not profit

assistance and brings no profit, but becomes a shame and also reprobation.

Here we understand that the Egyptian monarch (i.e. Shabako¹, and not Tirhakah) has sent his princes and other envoys to meet the deputation dispatched from the court at Jerusalem. Hanes is the Greek *Arvōs*, and in later times *Heracleopolis magna*, and at the present time is to be identified with Ahnās-el-Medine, which lies considerably south of the Delta and Memphis, between the Nile and Fayum. Even though the Judaean embassy be received by the Egyptian king so courteously, it is altogether futile. Isaiah evidently regarded the Egyptian power in the light of his past bitter experience of 722 and 711 (siege of Samaria and of Ashdod); and this estimate in no way differed from that of Rabshakeh (*2 Kings xviii. 21; Isa. xxxvi. 6*—‘this broken reed, Egypt’).

Verses 6–18. We now come to a section with the editorial heading ‘Utterance’ (or ‘Oracle,’ R. V. marg.). It is difficult to agree with Kuenen and Dillmann-Kittel that we have here a mere continuation of verses 1–5. The fact that we have an editorial heading to this section is a clear indication that we have here a separate oracle of the prophet. It deals, however, with the same subject, and was delivered about the same time (so Cheyne and Duhm).

6. The origination of the title ‘Utterance respecting the beasts of the south country’ (*nēgeb*)² is perfectly intelligible. As in

¹ See *Enc. Bibl.* article ‘Egypt’ (by Max-Müller). It may here be remarked that the mention of Zoan and Hanes (Zoan is certified by LXX) is fatal to Winckler’s theory that throughout Isaiah we have a confusion between Egypt (*Misraim*) and the North Arabian *mīt mūṣri*. See Introduction, p. 17 foll., footnote.

² Max-Müller, *Asien u. Europa*, p. 148, finds the same word for the country between Judah and the Bedawī of the south in the ancient Egyptian *Ngb*. Marti is disposed to find in the Hebrew word for ‘beasts’ the name for the hippopotamus (*Job. xl. 15*), representative of the inertness of Egypt. But this is, like Duhm’s surmises, only ingenious guesswork.

7 them. For Egypt helpeth in vain, and to no purpose : therefore have I called her Rahab that sitteth still.
 8 Now go, write it before them on a tablet, and inscribe it in a book, that it may be for the time to come for

other cases the opening of the oracle suggests the phraseology of the title (cf. note on xxi. 1). There is, therefore, no need to emend the text as Duhm proposes.

Verses 6, 7. The beginning of this fresh oracle is apparently lost. The envoys had to traverse the intermediate desert of the 'south country,' which the prophet calls 'a land of trouble and anguish,' before reaching the Egyptian frontier. The desert was associated in the minds of the ancient Semites with demons or jinn (see article 'Demon' in Hastings' *DB.*, p. 590 (right-hand col.)); cf. xiii. (21 note); and on the flying or winged Saraf, xiv. 29 (note), and vi. 2 (note). We have here the names of mythical creatures, demon-personalities, like Azazel, which possessed a reality to the Hebrew mind. Among these must be included *Rahab*, which closely corresponds to the dragon of the Chaos-depth in Babylonian mythology—Tiāmat slain by Marduk god of light; see 'Cosmogony' in Hastings' *DB.*, pp. 503-5. The name occurs in Job xxvi. 12; Isa. li. 9; Ps. lxxxvii. 4, lxxxix. 11. According to the Hebrew conception, Yahweh performs the office of destroying this monster just as Marduk god of light in the Babylonian legend destroys Tiāmat. Isaiah seems to have been the first to apply this name *Rahab* (meaning, apparently, 'violent' or 'terrible one') to Egypt. In this he is followed by Ezekiel¹, who uses a similar term, 'great sea-monster' (xxix. 3). The name suggests, therefore, the idea of violence or unrest. To heighten the effect of contrast he calls Egypt by the scornful title of *Rahab sit-still*. The word for 'sit-still' is a verbal noun or infinitive in the original. The monster sat still and procrastinated while his allies were perishing.

Verses 8 foll. The verses that follow announce that Isaiah is to make a written record of his warnings as a testimony for the future, since the people are rebellious. Their unbelief and disobedience will bring about the most serious calamities.

The tablet reminds us of viii. 1 (cf. also verse 16); Hab. ii. 2. Whether it is to include the verses which precede is uncertain,

¹ The later references are in Isa. li. 9; Ps. lxxxvii. 4, lxxxix. 10 [Heb. 11], where the name of the dragon-monster Rahab is evidently linked with Egypt. The name *Rahab* is the Babylonian word *rabbu*. In applying it to Egypt Isaiah may have been employing the current language of his time.

ever and ever. For it is a rebellious people, lying 9 children, children that will not hear the law of the LORD : which say to the seers, See not ; and to the 10 prophets, Prophesy not unto us right things, speak unto us smooth things, prophesy deceits : get you out of the 11 way, turn aside out of the path, cause the Holy One of Israel to cease from before us. Wherefore thus saith 12 the Holy One of Israel, Because ye despise this word, and trust in oppression and perverseness, and stay thereon ; therefore this iniquity shall be to you as a breach 13

but probably the pronoun 'it' (the feminine pronoun suffix in the original) refers back to what has immediately preceded¹.

9. The 'sons that refuse to hear Yahweh's instruction' is a thoroughly Isaianic note. From the first Isaiah denounced Judah's sin as disobedience or rebellion (i. 2).

10. The true prophets have always been more or less unpopular, and have suffered from the charge of anti-patriotism or of pessimism. A large proportion of their audience is anxious, not for truth, but for smooth things attractively presented. This was true in the days of Isaiah's elder contemporaries Amos (ii. 10, vii. 12) and Hosea (ix. 7, 8), as well as his coeval contemporary Micah (ii. 6, 11, iii. 11), and of his great successor Jeremiah (vi. 14, xi. 21, xiv. 13 foll.).

11. 'Depart from the way, turn aside from the path,' i. e. the mode of teaching which you declare to be the 'word of the Lord' (Yahweh)—'Cause the Holy One of Israel to cease,' i. e. Let us hear no more about the 'Holy One of Israel.' This designation of Yahweh, and the application of the term 'holy' to God in an ethical sense, were characteristics of the prophet's teaching; see note on vi. 3. But this ethical conception of religion and worship was as unfamiliar in those days (though preached with emphasis and passion to Israel by Isaiah's elder contemporary Amos) as it was evidently unpopular: cf. chap. i and introductory remarks to that chapter.

12. For **perverseness** substitute 'perversion,' viz. of justice.

13, 14. We have now a succession of vivid metaphors em-

¹ It is useless to discuss all the various alternative possibilities. If we follow the precedent of viii. 1 the writing will be limited to the words 'Rahab-sit-still,' as Dillmann supposes. On the other hand, the parallel clause refers to a 'document' or 'writing' which might well include the main portion of verses 6 and 7 and also 9-11.

ready to fall, swelling out in a high wall, whose breaking
 14 cometh suddenly at an instant. And he shall break it
 as a potter's vessel is broken; breaking it in pieces
 without sparing; so that there shall not be found among
 the pieces thereof a sherd to take fire from the hearth,
 15 or to take water withal out of the cistern. For thus
 said the Lord God, the Holy One of Israel, In returning
 and rest shall ye be saved; in quietness and in con-
 16 fidence shall be your strength: and ye would not. But
 ye said, No, for we will flee upon horses; therefore shall
 ye flee: and, We will ride upon the swift; therefore
 17 shall they that pursue you be swift. One thousand
 shall flee at the rebuke of one; at the rebuke of five
 shall ye flee; till ye be left as a beacon upon the top of
 18 a mountain, and as an ensign on an hill. [Ex. ?] And

inently characteristic of Isaiah: 'as a rent on the point of falling bulges in a steep wall . . . ; like the breaking of a potter's jar smashed without remorse, so that in its smash not a sherd can be found to fetch fire from the blazing hearth or for drawing water from the tank.' So complete is the wreckage that not a piece remains that can be serviceable. Such will be the utter ruin brought upon Judah by refusing to listen to Yahweh's instructions conveyed through His prophet. The following verses show that that misfortune refers not only to righteous conduct in social relations, but also to foreign policy.

15. In returning, i. e. from the adventurous policy of alliance with Egypt and war against Assyria. Quiet confidence in Yahweh shall be your only security. The prophet recurs to the counsels of xxviii. 12, 16, which may have been delivered at an earlier period (reign of Sargon), or even nearly at the same time as the present discourse: cf. Ps. xlvi. 5, 7, 10 [Heb. 6, 8, 11].

16. The horse was regarded with disapprobation by the religious conscience of the nation reflected in the prophets because it was a foreign importation: see *Enc. Bibl.*, article 'Chariot,' col. 725 foll.

17. For beacon read with R. V. (marg.) 'mast' or 'signal-pole': cf. i. 8. We find the reverse of the conception of this verse in Lev. xxvi. 8, and the reflection of the same idea in Deut. xxxii. 30.

Verses 18-26. The transition is very sudden, from threatening to

therefore will the LORD wait, that he may be gracious unto you, and therefore will he be exalted; that he may have mercy upon you : for the LORD is a God of judgement; blessed are all they that wait for him.

For the people shall dwell in Zion at Jerusalem: thou 19

promises of Divine mercy. Various attempts have been made to construe verse 18 as a continuation of the threatening in the previous verses, and thus vindicate the significance of the connecting phrase **And therefore**. But this involves forced interpretations, such as 'Yahweh will wait in reference to being gracious unto you (i. e. before He is gracious to you), . . . will remain on high (an unsympathetic spectator) in the bestowal of compassion.' These are impossible renderings, the latter clause especially. Accordingly ingenious emendation (change of the character *r* to *d* in the original) yields us the more tolerable 'will be silent in the bestowal of compassion on you.' But we are saved from all this gratuitous trouble if we recognize the obvious fact that a new section begins with verse 18. Rehder, therefore :—

' And so Yahweh waits expectantly to show you favour,
And so arises to show you compassion' . . .

Accordingly the R. V. is at fault in the division of its paragraphs. The new paragraph ought to begin at verse 18, in accordance with its own rendering. Verse 19 is an obvious continuation of the thought of the preceding verse. It should be rendered :—

' O people in Zion, that dwelleth in Jerusalem, thou shalt not weep.'

Does this new section, in which there breathes the spirit of Divine compassion on Zion's sorrow (verses 18-26), come from the lips of Isaiah? Some of the expressions remind us of the prophet, and the language of comfort and hope is not alien to the mind of Isaiah at the close of his prophetic life. See Introduction. We have already had occasion to defend the Isaianic authorship of xxix. 16-21 against recent critics, where the prophet employs the language of Divine promise. There are, however, in that brief passage many points which connect it with passages whose Isaianic origin cannot be legitimately contested. Here, however, there is much that is non-Isaianic both in expression and idea. Even Kittel's confidence is shaken, and his remarks may be quoted: 'In reality there are many serious objections [to its Isaianic authorship], the conception that Yahweh is Israel's teacher in the law belongs to a much later time (cf. xxix. 18). The reference to the "great slaughter" in verse 25 reminds us of late

shalt weep no more ; he will surely be gracious unto thee at the voice of thy cry ; when he shall hear, he will 20 answer thee. And though the Lord give you the bread of adversity and the water of affliction, yet shall not thy teachers be hidden any more, but thine eyes shall see 21 thy teachers : and thine ears shall hear a word behind thee, saying, This is the way, walk ye in it ; when ye turn to the right hand, and when ye turn to the left. 22 And ye shall defile the overlaying of thy graven images of silver, and the plating of thy molten images of gold : thou shalt cast them away as an unclean thing ; thou 23 shalt say unto it, Get thee hence. And he shall give the rain of thy seed, that thou shalt sow the ground withal ; and bread of the increase of the ground, and it shall be fat and plenteous : in that day shall thy cattle feed in 24 large pastures. The oxen likewise and the young asses that till the ground shall eat savoury provender, which

eschatology.' To this sound criticism add the linguistic data carefully compiled by Cheyne, *Introduction to Isaiah*, pp. 198-9.

20. Read 'teacher' instead of *teachers*, i. e. God. On 'bread of affliction,' &c., probably a current phrase, cf. 2 Kings xxii. 27. It was the low prison diet of the criminal. Even in this stage of disciplinary suffering God will manifest Himself. 'My teacher shall not be hid.' The Hebrew word for 'shall not be hid' is rare and only occurs here. Others interpret 'shall not be put aside,' but the parallel clause renders the former translation more probable, since it heightens the contrast.

22. Idolatry shall be abandoned. For *cast them away* read 'scatter them broadcast.' (So R. V. marg.) On 'unclean thing' see R. V. (marg.) and cf. Lev. xv. 33.

23. *the rain of thy seed* is the literal rendering, i. e. the rain required for thy seed, especially the 'early' rain, which begins in October, which is the sowing time (called *early* in reference to the old Canaanite-Hebrew, i. e. pre-exilian or civil year, which was essentially agricultural).

24. The writer delights in painting the glories of agricultural life in this golden age that is to come. Note the difference of standpoint between Isaiah's employment of agricultural processes to enforce the lesson of the variety of Yahweh's methods of wise yet

hath been winnowed with the shovel and with the fan. And there shall be upon every lofty mountain, and upon every high hill, rivers *and* streams of waters, in the day of the great slaughter, when the towers fall. Moreover the light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun, and the light of the sun shall be sevenfold, as the light of seven days, in the day that the LORD bindeth up the hurt of his people, and healeth the stroke of their wound.

stern discipline (xxviii. 23-29) and the more hopeful if not optimistic tone of this writer.

For *savotry* read 'salted.' The *provender* here was, as its Hebrew name indicates, a *mixture* of barley, oats, vetches, and beans. Cf. Job vi. 5, and Moore on Judges xix. 21.

For *fan* read 'fork.' On the processes of winnowing see *Hebrew Antiquities*, pp. 92 foll., and cf. LXX on 1 Sam. xix. 22.

25. Mountains and hills are usually dry, but even there water-courses shall bring fertility as though we were on the cultivated plains of Babylonia. The words rendered *rivers* and *streams* actually mean water-channels or water-courses : cf. Ps. i. 3, cvii. 33, Isa. xxxv. 7, xli. 18, and the author's note in *COT.*, ii. p. 311 ff.

'The day of great slaughter 'mid the downfall of towers' reminds us of Ezekiel's prophecy of Yahweh's overthrow of Gog in Ezek. xxxviii. 18-23. We have here also an evident echo of the Isaianic passage ii. 12-15.

26. Poetical names are given to moon and sun, viz. 'the pale one' and 'the glowing one.' 'Seven days,' lit. *the* seven days, viz. of the week. The word for *hurt* is more accurately expressed by 'breach.' The meaning of the last clause is—'and heals the fracture caused by the blow dealt on them.'

In the preceding section we have had occasion to observe parallels with Ezekiel (verse 25) and with Deutero-Isaiah (verse 25), to which we may add the reference to idolatry in verse 22, which strongly re-echoes Isa. xl. 19, 20, xliv. 9-20. Though we have occasional Isaianic phrases, the balance of evidence inclines strongly towards a non-Isaianic origin, the date of which we might approximately place towards the close of the Exile.

Verses 27-33 clearly reveal all the strength and vividness as well as rhythm of the great Master. It consists of three strophes, each of eight lines, contained in two verses. It portrays a Divine theophany whereby Assyria is annihilated amid the festal rejoicings of Judah. This passage has evidently been placed here as it seemed to follow the sequence of thought indicated by the great slaughter in verse 25.

27 [I] Behold, the name of the **LORD** cometh from far, burning with his anger, and in thick rising smoke: his lips are full of indignation, and his tongue is as a devouring fire: and his breath is as an overflowing stream, that reacheth even unto the neck, to sift the nations with the sieve of vanity: and a bridle that causeth to err shall be in 29 the jaws of the peoples. Ye shall have a song as in the night when a holy feast is kept; and gladness of heart, as when one goeth with a pipe to come into the mountain of

27. *name* is here synonymous with personal presence and power, just as the word *kābhōd*, rendered ‘glory,’ is equivalent to external manifestation of the personality of Yahweh.

from far, i. e. either from Sinai¹ or, more probably, from His *heavenly abode*. For the conception of Heaven, or the atmosphere, as Yahweh’s residence was primitive and ancient, as many indications show, and not a later conception.

28. Translate: ‘like an overflowing torrent parting (its waters) even up to the neck.’ The metaphor of overflowing floods of water is a favourite Isaianic figure of speech, viii. 7, 8, x. 22, xxviii. 17. There is a rapid change to an agricultural simile, ‘so as to sway nations in the sieve of annihilation.’ We have the same metaphor of the *sieve* applied to Israel in Amos ix. 9, but here another word for sieve is employed by the prophet for purposes of alliteration. Yet another metaphor follows descriptive of God’s breath or blast, ‘and as a halter that leads astray on the jaws of peoples.’

29. The second strophe begins with a description of Israel’s joy as Yahweh’s judgment proceeds: ‘Your song shall be as in the night when a festival is consecrated.’ Which among the three annual festivals is meant? Robertson Smith, *O. T. in the Jewish Church* (second edition), p. 345, suggests the night service for the commemoration of the Exodus, i. e. Passover. But Wellhausen (cited by Cheyne), with much more probability, sees here a reference to the Feast of Ingathering (Tabernacles), which played a much larger part in pre-exilian Canaanite-Hebrew life. He compares another Isaianic passage, xxxii. 10. Cf. also xvi. 10; Jer. xxv. 30; Judges ix. 27. This passage is important as showing the place that music as well as song held in pre-exilian worship, so that we have good ground for the assumption that some

¹ Cf. Judges v. 4, 5; Deut. xxxiii. 2, where both Seir and Sinai are mentioned as places from which God ‘goes forth.’

the LORD, to the Rock of Israel. And the LORD shall cause his glorious voice to be heard, and shall shew the lighting down of his arm, with the indignation of his anger, and the flame of a devouring fire, with a blast, and tempest, and hailstones. For through the voice of the LORD shall the Assyrian be broken in pieces, which smote with a rod. And every stroke of the appointed staff, which the LORD shall lay upon him, shall be with tabrets and harps : and

at least of the Psalms (or portions of them) contained in our Psalter originated in pre-exilian times. See the writer's remarks in *Critical Review*, Jan. 1890, pp. 11-13.

30. Meanwhile the storm of Divine fury is directed against the Assyrians. The *glorious* (or majestic) *voice* means the thunder (cf. Ps. xxix, where 'voice' repeatedly occurs in this sense ; also Exod. xix. 16, 19). The lightning (often called 'fire of Yahweh') is described as the verse proceeds : 'And will display the descent of His arm in fierce wrath and the flame of devouring fire, destruction, rain-storm and hail-stones.' Cf. Ps. xviii. 7-16 (Heb. 8-17).

31. According to the punctuation and the ordinary rules of grammar the rendering of R. V., which smote with a rod (Asshur being the subject), is fully justified (cf. x. 5). Others, as Kittel, would make Yahweh the subject. On the other hand, it seems more probable that we ought, by a slight alteration of the vowel-points, to make the verb passive, 'with a rod shall he be smitten.' The *rod* here is the mace or club studded with nails, a formidable weapon in war. See x. 5, footnote.

32. By a slight alteration in the Hebrew word rendered *appointed*, involving the familiar change of *d* to *r*, Duhm has restored to us the probable reading, and we should accordingly render : 'and every passing over¹ (=stroke) of the staff shall be his (i. e. Assyria's) chastisement.'

The rest of the verse may be rendered : 'with tambourines and lutes and battles of wave-offering doth He fight with them.' The prophet recurs to the conception of popular rejoicing and festival music as the battle proceeds, and he summons to his imagination

¹ This curious expression is probably best illustrated by the use of the corresponding verb in connexion with the 'scourge' in xxviii. 15, 19. It seems to be a characteristically Isaianic expression. We might compare the same use of the verb in Num. v. 14; Nah. iii. 19: cf. Job ix. 11, xiii. 13.

33 in battles of shaking will he fight with them. For a Topheth is prepared of old ; yea, for the king it is made ready ; he hath made it deep and large : the pile thereof is fire and much wood ; the breath of the LORD, like a stream of brimstone, doth kindle it.

1 Woe to them that go down to Egypt for help, and stay

the gruesome picture of the brandished bloodstained weapons as wave-offerings. The ancient Semitic conception of war as sacred, i. e. under Divine sanction and initiative, renders this view of the passage by no means so improbable and far-fetched as we might otherwise suppose. See article ‘War’ in *Enc. Bibl.* iv. col. 5,263. Other commentators (including Delitzsch and Guthe) translate the word rendered above ‘wave-offering’ by ‘brandishing’ ; ‘battles of brandishing,’ i. e. brandished weapons, is a somewhat weak and commonplace expression.

33. The view adopted in the preceding verse is confirmed in this. Translate :—

‘For a Topheth (place of burning) hath erewhile been set in order,
Yea, even for the king hath it been set,
Deep and broad hath He set it ;
By its circle are fire and logs many.

The breath of Yahweh, like a brimstone stream, burns within it. The Topheth, or place of burning, reminds us of the human sacrifices and rites of Moloch in the valley of Hinnom, south of Jerusalem (2 Kings xxiii. 10 ; Jer. vii. 31 foll., xix. 6, 13). The name of the god Moloch signifies ‘king’—but in this passage we are evidently to think of the king of Assyria, and it is not necessary to suppose that this reference to a king has been introduced by a punning gloss-writer. It is to be found even in the badly-corrupted text used by the LXX. We are to think of a colossal human burnt sacrifice prepared beforehand for the Assyrians with fire and logs set by the altar-circle. Even Isaiah stood far away from the light which was to shine seven centuries later—the fulfilment or full realization of the ideals which he sought to express. The spirit which breathes through this strange and fiery oracle is the spirit of Semitic warfare which was then all-prevalent and vital, and even now is by no means dead.

CHAPTER XXXI.

The prophet recurs to the subject of the Egyptian Alliance, and the policy is again denounced in strong terms (1-3). Yahweh will

on horses ; and trust in chariots; because they are many, and in horsemen, because they are very strong ; but they look not unto the Holy One of Israel, neither seek the LORD ! Yet he also is wise, and will bring evil, and will not call back his words : but will arise against the house of the evil-doers, and against the help of them that work iniquity. Now the Egyptians are men, and not God ; and their horses flesh, and not spirit : and when the LORD shall stretch out his hand, both he that helpeth shall stumble, and he that is holpen shall fall, and they all shall fail together. For thus saith the LORD unto me, 4 Like as when the lion growleth and the young lion over his prey, if a multitude of shepherds be called forth against him, he will not be dismayed at their voice, nor abase himself for the noise of them : so shall the LORD of hosts come down to fight upon mount Zion, and upon

Himself interpose to protect His people, and Assyria will be destroyed (4-9).

1. The oracle begins with the characteristic **Woe!** (Ah!). For **stay** substitute 'rely,' 'depend.' The word rendered **strong** may also signify 'numerous,' and so it probably means in this passage. Cf. Ps. xxxviii. 20 ; xl. 6, 13 in Hebrew text.

2. For **will bring . . . will not call back** translate by perfect tenses 'has brought . . . has not withdrawn . . .' A word withdrawn ('called back') ceases to have power. See notes on ix. 8, 12.

3. Egypt is human and frail, **flesh** (= human) as opposed to **spirit** (Divine). The 'helper' of course corresponds to Egypt, whose alliance against Assyria is being sought ; the 'helped,' to Judah.

4. **multitude** in the original properly means 'the full number.' The rendering of the RV. **upon mount Zion** is obviously right. R. V. marg. **against** is wholly out of place. The figure is that of Yahweh leading forth His armies upon Mount Zion, His own holy hill, which He will defend like a lion against the assaults of the Assyrians. The conception of the closing verses of the preceding chapter (verses 27 foll.) is here sustained under the form of a new **simile**.

5 the hill thereof. As birds flying, so will the LORD of hosts protect Jerusalem; he will protect and deliver it, 6 he will pass over and preserve it. Turn ye unto him from 7 whom ye have deeply revolted, O children of Israel. For in that day they shall cast away every man his idols of silver, and his idols of gold, which your own hands have 8 made unto you for a sin. Then shall the Assyrian fall with the sword, not of man; and the sword, not of men, shall devour him: and he shall flee from the sword, and 9 his young men shall become tributary. And his rock

5. Yet another metaphor to which Duhm quite needlessly takes exception. The flying birds are the parent birds solicitous about the safety of their imperilled offspring, which they swoop down to protect. The metaphor is somewhat similar to that of Deut. xxxii. 11 (in reference to the eagle). The last clause might be rendered: 'Guarding them He will deliver them, sparing them will carry them off safe.'

6-7. The pathetic image of the birds protecting their offspring may have suggested Christ's simile in His appeal to Jerusalem (Matt. xxiii. 37). They appear to have suggested to the prophet (or, as Duhm supposes, a later writer) the exhortation to repent and abandon idolatry. The Hebrew word for **turn ye** means properly 'return ye.' The verb is used to express the idea of 'be converted.'

cast away: properly, 'reject' or 'despise.'

8. Translate: '... fall by the sword of one who is not-man; And the sword of one who is not-mortal shall devour him.' 'Not-man,' 'not-mortal,' mean one who is superhuman, viz. Yahweh Himself. Some of the Assyrians in the great day of Divine visitation shall fall by the sword, but others shall take to flight—others shall become captives and be set to task-work, like the inhabitants of Rabbath-Ammon whom David appointed to the task-work of building (2 Sam. xii. 31 according to Hofmann's restored text adopted by Driver and Stade).

9. The verse is difficult, since it is not certain whether **rock** is subject¹ or object. Duhm, in his rendering: 'his rock he passes

¹ Marti takes 'rock' as subject of the verb, but assigns to it a very artificial and unprecedented meaning, viz. the main body of the enemy's troops. 'His main body ["the rock" on which the king *relies*] will disperse in terror, and his officers (princes) will in con-

shall pass away by reason of terror, and his princes shall be dismayed at the ensign, saith the LORD, whose fire is in Zion, and his furnace in Jerusalem.

Behold, a king shall reign in righteousness, and princes 32

by through terror,' thinks that the reference is to a chased animal such as a mountain goat which is hunted, and in its terror passes by the rock where it usually takes shelter.

In the next clause, 'his princes fly away in dismay from the standard,' the meaning is that even the bravest men, his princes, do not rally round the standard as they might be expected to do, but are in panic-stricken flight.

The last clause, 'whose fire is in Zion and whose oven (furnace) in Jerusalem,' is evidently an allusion to the 'altar-hearth' of xxix. 1, i. e. in Yahweh's sanctuary in Zion, which was always considered by the Jews to be the Divine abode.

Verses 4 to 9 have been subjected to searching criticism by recent scholars. Duhm regards the latter part of verse 4, verses 5 and 6, the latter part of verse 8, and the first part of verse 9, as interpolations. Marti assigns verses 4-9 to later writers (Hackmann and Cheyne, 5-9).

CHAPTER XXXII.

This chapter may be divided into three sections—(1) verses 1-8, a Messianic passage containing a prophecy of the moral restoration of the Jewish community, which is to be governed by a righteous King and just rulers. (2) Verses 9-14, a denunciation directed against the frivolous women of Jerusalem. The city is to be completely destroyed, and also the surrounding country. (3) Verses 15-20 are a prophecy of the blessings of the future Messianic age, when God's Spirit will be poured out from on high, and the corresponding changes will be effected in the world of nature, and human society shall be established on a foundation of justice, and peace shall reign. The opinions of recent critics, from the time of Kuenen till the most recent commentator, Marti (1900), have with increasing unanimity pronounced against the Isaianic authorship

sternation abandon the standard.' This is a most improbable view. A more reasonable alternative is to regard 'his rock' as meaning the Assyrian deity who is 'to pass by in terror.' This is supported by Assyro-Babylonian proper names such as Bēl-shadūa: 'Bel is my mountain.' Cf. the references to Yahweh as a rock in chap. xxx. 29; Ps. xviii. 2, 31 (Heb. 3. 32); Deut. xxxii. 4 foll.; 1 Sam. xi. 2, &c.; and in the proper name Šuri-ēl: see Schrader, *COT.*, ii. p. 326.

a shall rule in judgement. And a man shall be as an hiding

of any portion of this chapter. Cheyne, in his elaborate *Introduction*, discusses with considerable minuteness both the contents and phraseology, and, after carefully balancing Isaianic against non-Isaianic traits, pronounces decisively against an Isaianic origin in the case of all three sections of this chapter (pp. 173-180). Even Kittel, the cautious and conservative editor of Dillmann's *Commentary*, hesitates to ascribe verses 1-8 to Isaiah : 'We cannot build much on the mention of the King in verse 1. It can, of course, be regarded as a proof that it was written in pre-exilian times ; but when we take into consideration the pale abstract form in which the King is here presented, we think of some later imitator of the prophet who has projected himself into the earlier time. More significant still is the absence of Isaiah's poetic fire. Moreover, we meet in this brief passage with a number of expressions which occur nowhere else in Isaiah, while there is much that reminds us rather of the "Wisdom" literature than of Isaiah. The utmost that we can assume is that some younger friends or pupils of the prophet have written this passage, or perhaps, we might say, generally chaps. xxxii and xxxiii (so Dillmann) . . . But it is more probable that a still later writer during the Exile or soon after attached this passage to the preceding chapter.' But this consensus of opinion is interrupted by the weighty judgment of Duhm, which differs widely, and in this case is cast almost unreservedly, on the side of conservatism. This is the more notable because his independence of all traditional opinions is well known, and all who have studied his great work on Isaiah are aware of his clear perception of the evidence of language, contents, and niceties of style, and of his trained sense of poetic metre and rhythm. With the exception of verses 6-8 and 19 the entire chapter is ascribed to Isaiah. (a) Respecting verses 1-5, after remarking that they contain two six-lined strophes precisely in the style of chaps. ii. 2-4 and xi. 1-8, he observes that, like the two latter passages, they deal with the time that follows the Judgment. All three passages he would assign to the close of Isaiah's lifetime. (b) Respecting the *denunciation of the women* in verses 9-14, he declares that it exhibits just as good Isaianic style as any passage in the entire book. On the other hand, it belongs to an *earlier* period of the prophet's life. This view is confirmed by the evidence arising from the absence of definite reference to any impending danger from Assyria. We are reminded of iii. 16-iv. 1. The thorns which are to cover the country, and the transformation of pleasure-gardens into a pasture for wild asses, are Isaianic traits of the earlier period : cf. chap. v. 6, 17. (c) In the *concluding Messianic passages* (verses 15-20) Duhm recognizes the same style and metre as in verses 1-5, and

place from the wind, and a covert from the tempest; as rivers of water in a dry place, as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land. And the eyes of them that see 3

the kindred passages ii. 2-4, xi. 1-8. The views put forth by Stade and Guthe are partly due 'to mistaken critical theories respecting other passages . . . and also to theological ideas, for which the O. T. writers are not responsible, but only the critics themselves. To deny the Isaianic origin of a prophecy because it does not contain an exhortation to repentance is not criticism.' At the same time Duhm confesses to a certain measure of uncertainty, but holds that no convincing arguments have yet been advanced against Isaianic authorship. This view he still maintains (and ed., 1902).

This position we hold to be in the main sound. The reference to the Messianic King in verse 1 is a reference only, but is none the less significant. Why should a full and living portraiture have been added if Isaiah had already, and probably at this same closing period of his life, composed xi. 1-8¹? It is acknowledged that the language is largely Isaianic. We are entering here on a very doubtful field of inquiry; and, with the very limited realm of assured Isaianic literature which we possess (upon which modern critics are constantly encroaching), we must allow for large margins of uncertainty. This is not the work in which to discuss the evidence which Cheyne has supplied in his valuable *Introduction*. The conclusion to which the present writer has arrived after a study of the evidence on both sides is that Duhm's contention is in the main correct, but that the composition of the great master has been touched here and there by later disciples. Dillmann's view was similar.

Verses 1-8. *A Messianic prophecy of righteous government; four six-lined strophes.*

1. **in righteousness:** i. e. according to righteousness as the form or standard to be aimed at.

2. **the tempest** here means a tempest of rain. Notice the characteristic succession of metaphors which we have already observed in Isaiah's oracles.

rivers of water should be 'water-courses,' a feature of Babylonian irrigation in the great plains of the Euphrates rather than of Judaean landscape (cf. Ps. i. 3). Perhaps we see here a touch by a later exilian student of Isaiah's oracles.

3. R. V. marg. renders more accurately 'closed' for **dim.**

¹ See the discussion respecting the Isaianic authorship of ii. 2-4, ix. 1-7, xi. 1-8, in the notes appended to those passages.

shall not be dim, and the ears of them that hear shall
 4 hearken. The heart also of the rash shall understand
 knowledge, and the tongue of the stammerers shall be
 5 ready to speak plainly. The vile person shall be no more
 called liberal, nor the churl said to be bountiful. [Ex. ?]
 6 For the vile person will speak villany, and his heart will
 work iniquity, to practise profaneness, and to utter error
 against the LORD, to make empty the soul of the hungry,
 7 and to cause the drink of the thirsty to fail. The instru-
 ments also of the churl are evil : he deviseth wicked
 devices to destroy the meek with lying words, even when

4. R. V. marg. 'hasty' (or 'impulsive,' 'vehement') is perhaps better than *rash*. Probably stammering, like other physical defects, was regarded as a sign that a man was demon-possessed, and thus came to have a certain evil association. The stammerer accordingly came to be synonymous with 'evil person.'

5. 'The fool shall no longer be called noble,' as the R. V. marg. has it, is the more accurate rendering. 'Fool,' however, in the O. T. comes to have the depraved *ethical* rather than *intellectual* meaning which we moderns give the word. So in 1 Sam. xxv. 5; 2 Sam. xiii. 12 ('folly') and Proverbs *passim*. Hence *vile person* is in reality no untrue rendering. For *churl*, however, we ought to substitute 'fraudulent' with Vulgate. With the thought of this passage cf. v. 20. The old condition of inverted moral relations shall pass away.

Probably this is all that Isaiah originally said or wrote, but to this some disciple has attached a little didactic moral poem of a somewhat commonplace order which serves to illustrate the vast difference between genius and mediocrity. This poem (verses 6-8) falls into two strophes of six short lines each, and is intended to illustrate the meaning of verse 5 :—

'For the fool uttereth folly,
 And his heart doeth evil, (LXX reads for 'doeth' another
 word, 'deviseth')
 Acting profanely
 And uttering delusions in respect of Yahweh, . . . '

7. Render: 'The fraudulent man has evil instruments.' In the original the word for *instruments* is a punning conceit on the word 'fraudulent,' though it must be confessed that the original Hebrew word rendered 'fraudulent' is very doubtful. The

the needy speaketh right. But the liberal deviseth 8
liberal things ; and in liberal things shall he continue.

[I] Rise up, ye women that are at ease, *and* hear 9
my voice; ye careless daughters, give ear unto my speech.
For days beyond a year shall ye be troubled, ye careless 10
women : for the vintage shall fail, the ingathering shall not
come. Tremble, ye women that are at ease ; be troubled, 11

equivalent in an English rendering would be as Rodwell (quoted by Cheyne) suggests : 'The mean man has evil means.' The next two lines should run —

'He plans plots
To destroy the poor, &c.'

'But the noble man plans noble things,
And on noble things he takes his stand' —

i. e. perseveres in his course of noble or generous action. The word rendered 'noble' in Hebrew has an aristocratic colouring like its English equivalent : cf. Num. xxi. 18; 1 Sam. ii. 8; Job xii. 21, xxxiv. 18; Ps. xlvi. 10, &c.; Prov. viii. 16, xxv. 7.

Verses 9-14. *Denunciation of the frivolous ladies of Jerusalem.* These evidently belonged to the wealthy classes of society, as the references to the pleasure-gardens and palaces in verses 12 and 14 clearly indicate. We are reminded of the earlier period of Isaiah's utterances, viz. chap. iii (especially verses 16 foll. referring to women); chap. v. 11 foll., belonging to the days of Ahaz; and the earlier denunciations of the nobles who 'dwell at ease' in Samaria and Zion by Amos (chap. vi). This poem consists of three strophes consisting of four long lines each, every line divided into two parts.

9. *Rise up* (or better 'arise') : i. e. from your condition of sloth and indifference. The expression *at ease* includes the notion of culpable and careless indifference. Compare the same use in Amos vi. 1, where we have also the identical parallelism in the original Hebrew ('at ease' . . . 'secure'). *Careless* is not so accurate a rendering as 'secure' or 'confident' (R. V. marg.). 'Ye daughters, happy in your confidence, hearken to my utterance.'

10. *days beyond* (*lit.* 'over') *a year* : i. e. 'in a little more than a year.'

For *be troubled* read the stronger and more accurate 'tremble'; and the reason follows, 'the vintage has perished.'

11-12. *Render* : 'be terrified . . tremble.' In the arrangement

ye careless ones : strip you, and make you bare; and gird
 12 *sackcloth* upon your loins. They shall smite upon the
 13 breasts for the pleasant fields, for the fruitful vine. Upon
 the land of my people shall come up thorns and briers ;
 14 yea, upon all the houses of joy in the joyous city : for the
 palace shall be forsaken ; the populous city shall be
 deserted ; the hill and the watch-tower shall be for dens

of the lines the close of this verse and the beginning of the next
 should be combined together (as in Duhm's arrangement) in
 forming a single line.

'Gird [sackcloth] upon your loins—smiting on the breasts
 For the fair fields—for the fruitful vine.'

Wellhausen, in his *Remains of Arabic Heathendom* (second edition, p. 177), gives us instructive illustrations of the ways of expressing grief among the early Hebrews recorded in the O. T. by quoting from the customs of the Arab. Even stripping the person bare, to which Isaiah makes reference, is no uncommon trait among Arab women as a sign of grief at the news of death. Wellhausen quotes from the *Kitâb al-aghâsi*, xv. 139, the incident that after the death of Amir, son of al Tufail, in the land of Salul, a tall woman of that country stripped herself half naked and announced the news in short rhymes to her fellow tribesmen, after which there arose universal lamentation. Here the sorrowing of the women is for the charming lands, perhaps the gardens or estates attached to the summer-houses and winter-houses which the wealthy Israelites at that time possessed (*Amos* iii. 15; *Isa.* ix. 9, 10), ere long to be utterly destroyed. Cf. Jastrow, *ZATW.*, xxii. p. 117 ff.

14. the populous city: i. e. the city with its tumultuous crowds (according to the full force of the original). The LXX suggest grave doubts as to the text, and seem to indicate by their translation, what from the Heb. text itself appears probable, that the Heb. preposition rendered *for* should be eliminated before *dens* as a corruption due to dittography. Render: 'hill and watch-tower have become hollows for ever,' viz. hollows which are lairs for beasts. Duhm would cancel the following word, viz. 'hollows,' and not the preposition, which he would slightly alter, and so translate: 'hill and watch-tower have become a bare spot for ever.' But the LXX lend no countenance to this solution of the textual problem, since they sustain the text of the last three words of the original in their rendering: 'villages shall be *caves for ever*.' We must content ourselves with the provisional solution proposed above as the most probable. The general sense is fairly clear.

for ever, a joy of wild asses, a pasture of flocks ; until the 15 spirit be poured upon us from on high, and the wilderness become a fruitful field, and the fruitful field be counted for a forest. Then judgement shall dwell in the wilderness, 16 and righteousness shall abide in the fruitful field. And 17 the work of righteousness shall be peace ; and the effect of righteousness quietness and confidence for ever. And 18 my people shall abide in a peaceable habitation, and in sure dwellings, and in quiet resting places. But it shall 19 hail, in the downfall of the forest ; and the city shall be utterly laid low. Blessed are ye that sow beside 20 all waters, that send forth the feet of the ox and the ass.

Verses 15-20 form a brief detached Messianic fragment appended to the preceding denunciation of the frivolous women. Both were composed by Isaiah; but while the latter utterance (verses 9-14) belongs probably to the early or to the middle period (reign of Sargon 721 B.C.) of the prophet's ministry, the former (verses 15-20) evidently belongs to its close.

15. The latter part of this verse closely resembles xxix. 17, on which see note.

17. The result of righteous conduct will be a full, secure well-being (peace).

18. The reference to the 'abode of peace, the secure habitations, and the resting-places of easy freedom from care,' reminds us of xi. 6-9.

19. This verse seems to be out of place here, and it has been suggested that it does not belong to this Messianic fragment at all, but should be placed after verse 14. The expression *it shall hail* in the original has been much doubted on account of its strangeness. Accordingly, Secker, Lowth, and Duhm prefer a slight change which gives symmetry of construction to the whole verse, and translate : 'And the forest shall go down in downfall.' Forests, we know, were cut down by Assyrian invaders, and in the inscriptions of their monarchs we often read that valuable and fragrant trees were taken away to the royal parks : cf. x. 19 note.

20. Happy the man who lives in this golden Messianic age. There is no fear that any brook or stream will run dry (cf. Job vi. 15 ; Isa. lviii. 11), or that the seed sown by its banks will grow up only to wither and die. Ox and ass will have rich pasture to

33 [Pre-Ex.] Woe to thee that spoilest, and thou wast not

feed them, and a never-ceasing supply of water to quench their thirst.

Here it is probable that we have the last words of the prophet Isaiah : they form a worthy conclusion to his oracles.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

This chapter is evidently an addendum to chaps. xxviii–xxxii, and deals with the subject of the catastrophe wrought by the invasion of Sennacherib in 701 B.C. Kuenen (*Histor.-krit. Einleitung*, ii. p. 82) thinks that ‘it leaves with us the impression that it exhibits a later phase in the development of Isaianic modes of thought.’ That Isaianic phraseology is to be found in this chapter is unquestionable. It begins with the characteristic Isaianic Ah! (‘woe’) : cf. v. 8, foll., x. 5, which recurs in the collection xxviii–xxxii. A discriminating survey of the vocabulary, Isaianic and non-Isaianic, is to be found in Cheyne’s *Introd.* pp. 166–168. Could it have been composed by Isaiah? In view of the language and contents this is not probable. The language does not possess the flow and impulsive force of the oracles of the prophet of the eighth century. The ideas, it is true, are not separated from those of that prophet by quite so sharp a contrast as Cheyne argues. The ‘enthusiasm for religious services’ contrasted with the aversion to ceremonial (of chap. i) is not so clearly visible to the present writer as it is to the above-mentioned critic. On the other hand, Cheyne is right in the contrast which he draws between the Messianic ideas of this passage and those which characterize Isaiah. Compare the vague reference to ‘the King in his beauty,’ which is purely ideal (verse 17), resembling Jer. xxiii. 5 foll.; Ezek. xxxiv. 23, 24; Isa. lv. 4, with the definite living concrete portraiture of ix. 1–7, xi. 1–9¹. When we reach verse 22 the personality of Yahweh, Judge, Ruler, and King, overshadows all.

On the whole neither language nor contents indicate decisively a later period than the end of the last century of the Kingdom of Judah. On the other hand, the phraseology of verses 14–16 points rather to a post-exilian period. There is certainly want of clearness in the arrangement : ‘individual verses stand almost isolated and without any connexion’ (Marti). The apocalyptic character of the chapter is by no means as clearly marked as Duhm and Marti

¹ Cheyne’s argument, based on these passages, appears to us pointless when we bear in mind that he rejects their Isaianic origin and regards them as probably post-exilian (*Introd.*, pp. 44 foll., 57 foll.). This argument can only stand when their Isaianic genuineness is admitted.

spoiled ; and dealest treacherously, and they dealt not treacherously with thee ! When thou hast ceased to spoil, thou shalt be spoiled ; and when thou hast made an end to deal treacherously, they shall deal treacherously with thee. O LORD, be gracious unto us ; we have waited for thee : be thou their arm every morning, our salvation also

suppose, and it would be impossible to establish any close relation between the ideas or language of this chapter and those of the Book of Daniel. We may, therefore, safely reject the extreme views of Duhm and Marti, who assign it to the Maccabaean period¹. We are not disposed to refer its composition to the age of Josiah (with Kuennen), but somewhat later (the reign of Jehoiakim), when certain Isaianic fragments composed immediately before the invasion of Sennacherib became incorporated into verses 1-12 and other portions were added, the main substance of the chapter forming a message of comfort for the Jews during the troubled times which heralded the final overthrow of the southern kingdom. We might place this oracle near the close of the seventh century. But there are evident signs in verses 14-16 that additions were made by a post-exilian writer.

After rejecting insertions in verses 6, 8, 15, 20, and 23 Duhm arranges this chapter in sixteen stanzas of four lines each.

1. For *spoil* read 'oppress.' 'Ah ! oppressor, yet thou art not oppressed ; . . . when thou comest to an end in oppressing, shalt thou be oppressed.' If we assume an Isaianic basis, in verses 1-12 at any rate, we may regard the 'oppressor' as in the first instance Sennacherib ; but in later times it was referred to the Babylonian power in the days of Nebuchadnezzar, 605-600 B.C. We might assign an approximate date, 601 B.C., to this chapter.

2. The reference of 'their' in *theba asma* needs explanation. Duhm, with some probability, thinks that a line has been omitted referring to the warriors of Judah, to which 'their' here refers.

¹ The attempt to find an acrostic, 'Simon the wise of heart' = Simon the Maccabee (142 B.C. : cf. Ps. cx), made by Bickell, is only possible by a complete rearrangement of the verses of chap. xxxiii into two parts. Verses 2, 7, 8, 9 are a prayer for help to Yahweh after disastrous defeat, after which we have an acrostic poem made up of a complete rearrangement of the verses as they now stand. Who disarranged them so that we have the present order ? The answer is : The Pharisaic faction ! Marti, who assigns this chapter to the Maccabaean period, rightly repudiates this ingenious construction.

3 in the time of trouble.' At the noise of the tumult the peoples are fled ; at the lifting up of thyself the nations are 4 scattered. And your spoil shall be gathered as the cater-piller gathereth : as locusts leap shall they leap upon it. 5 The L^RORD is exalted ; for he dwelleth on high : he hath 6 filled Zion with judgement and righteousness. And there shall be stability in thy times, abundance of salvation, wisdom and knowledge : the fear of the L^RORD is his treasure. 7 Behold, their valiant ones cry without ; the ambassadors 8 of peace weep bitterly. The high ways lie waste, the wayfaring man ceaseth : he hath broken the covenant, he

3. Omit the definite article before **peoples** and **nations**.

4. We might with advantage follow Duhm's slight reconstruction of text¹, and render: 'And spoil shall be gathered like the gathering by locusts and like an incursion of grasshoppers coursing over it.'

Of course the spoil here is the spoil which the Jews shall take from their enemies who had previously oppressed them ; in this case probably the Babylonians are meant. We have a parallel to the language of verses 1-4 in the oracles of Habakkuk, which were written about this time (Driver), i. e. shortly before 600 B.C. Cf. especially Hab. ii. 6-8 ; and respecting Habakkuk see Cornill's *Einleitung*, and Driver in *LOT*².

5 contains a thoroughly Isaianic conception ; compare xxviii. 16, 17.

6 : a verse overloaded with substantives, which render any satisfactory construction most difficult. It is impossible to avoid suspecting the hand of the gloss-writer. LXX render the last clause : 'These are the treasures of righteousness,' which presupposes another longer text. The entire verse resembles the production of a later gnome-writer like the author of xxxii. 6-8.

7. The second word in this verse must, we fear, remain a hopeless puzzle, and it would be wisest to refrain from translating it. It seems to be a plural of some noun designating a class of people ('heroes', 'warriors'?).

8. Duhm and Marti adopt a slightly different reading in place of the word rendered **citio**, namely, the word rendered 'witnesses.' This certainly improves the parallelism of the verse. 'He hath violated the covenant, contemned witnesses.' The LXX afford us

¹ Duhm reads *k'mô ðseph* in the first clause, and the present writer would also read *k'mô shôk* in the second (in place of *mashshak*).
² Cf. p. 111.

hath despised the cities, he regardeth not man. The 9 land mourneth and languisheth: Lebanon is ashamed and withereth away: Sharon is like a desert; and Bashan and Carmel shake off *their leaves*. Now will I arise, saith 10 the LORD; now will I lift up myself; now will I be exalted. Ye shall conceive chaff, ye shall bring forth stubble: your 11 breath is a fire that shall devour you. And the peoples 12 shall be as the burnings of lime: as thorns cut down, that are burned in the fire.

Hear, ye that are far off, what I have done; and, ye 13 that are near, acknowledge my might. [PE?] The sinners 14

no help, and evidently presuppose another text. The sentiment of our Hebrew text finds a parallel in Ezek. xvii. 18.

9. 'Sharon has become like "the steppe": perhaps *the Arabah*, or the depression extending from the northern portion of the Dead Sea down to the Gulf of Akabah (see Hastings' *DB*. 'Arabah'). But the comparison in Heb. does not necessarily imply this.

shake off (*their leaves*), so Kimhi; and this sense is poetic and appropriate. LXX, however, punctuate and interpret the original word differently: 'Bashan is *bared* and Carmel,' which is more prosaic. Cf. Hab. iii. 9 (Heb.).

Verses 10-13 are Yahweh's response to the appeal of verses 2 foll., which are a cry for help amid the dark times of Israel's oppression.

11 is directed against Babylonia at the close of the seventh century, showing at that time no signs of weakness and decay, but after 560 B.C. clear indications of degeneracy. 'Ye conceive dry grass, ye bring forth stubble.' It is better to render throughout by present tenses rather than by the future.

12. Continue to render with present tenses: 'peoples become burnt to lime—thorns cut off that kindle in the fire': 'burnt to lime' is a free rendering of the more literal *burnings of lime* (Duhm).

13. Duhm follows the LXX in reading indic. perfect: 'These that are far off have heard, those that are near have perceived my prowess (warlike strength).' So also Marti. This is probably the correct reading.

Verses 14-24 portray the consequences of Yahweh's great deed of deliverance to Jerusalem. In Jerusalem itself the sinners are overwhelmed with fear as the Messianic age dawns; the wicked are destroyed, and only the righteous endure. Jerusalem shall

in Zion are afraid; trembling hath surprised the godless ones. Who among us shall dwell with the devouring fire? **15** who among us shall dwell with everlasting burnings? He that walketh righteously, and speaketh uprightly; he that despiseth the gain of oppressions, that shaketh his hands from holding of bribes, that stoppeth his ears from hearing of blood, and shutteth his eyes from looking upon evil; **16** he shall dwell on high: his place of defence shall be the munitions of rocks: his bread shall be given *him*; his **17** waters shall be sure. [Pre-Ex.] Thine eyes shall see the king in his beauty: they shall behold a far stretching land.

abide under Yahweh's protection, safe from tribulation and hostile attack. We are here moving in the circle of Isaianic ideas—the conception of Zion's inviolability, which exercised so profound an influence in the days of Jeremiah, an optimism which he was powerless to destroy, and which nearly succeeded in destroying him, and was ultimately broken only by the stern logic of facts¹: cf. Jer. iv. 6, 7, 10 foll.; v. 10-12; vi. 1 foll., 6 foll.; vii. 29-34; ix. 11; xv. 3 foll.; xx. xxi, xxvi, &c.

14. ‘Trembling hath seized the unholy. Whom shall we find dwelling by the devouring fire?’ Here God is regarded as One who manifests Himself in Zion as a flame of fire devouring the wicked or unholy. The parallels with post-exilian literature should be noted, viz. Pss. xv and xxiv. 3 foll. The **everlasting burnings** (or ‘places of burning’) is a phrase that reminds us of ‘the everlasting doors’ (Ps. xxiv. 7), the word *everlasting* being one of the characteristics of what is Divine.

15. The answer to the question raised in the preceding verse. It is only the righteous man who finds in Zion safe protection. Both question and answer resemble Pss. xv and xxiv. Ps. xv. 2 might indeed be an echo of this passage.

Render: ‘shaking his hands (*lit. palms*) so as not to take hold of a bribe, stopping his ears so as not to hear of bloodshed,’ or listen to murderous plots.

17. The righteous inhabitant of Zion is here addressed. ‘The King is obviously the Messianic King. A far stretching land, i. e. no longer restricted by the presence of foes to the city walls as in the closing days of the seventh century, when the national

¹ This divergence of standpoint in reference to Jerusalem between the writer of this chapter and Jeremiah is also characteristic of *Habakkuk*. See Cornill's *Einleitung*.

Thine heart shall muse on the terror : where is he that 18
 counted, where is he that weighed *the tribute*? where is
 he that counted the towers ? Thou shalt not see the fierce 19
 people, a people of a deep speech that thou canst not per-
 ceive; of a strange tongue that thou canst not understand.
 Look upon Zion, the city of our solemnities : thine eyes 20

existence was threatened by Nebuchadnezzar, but stretching out far and free with unlimited scope for national growth in that happy Messianic age.

18. The word rendered here **muse** is employed by Isaiah in the sense of 'moan' or 'roar' (in reference to an animal). The meaning here 'muse' or 'meditate' is a later use. The times of evil and dread shall one day become things of the past which dwell in the memory only. The days of foreign tyranny and tribute are gone. The registrar who counted out the tribute-money or weighed it has passed away for ever. The 'counting of the towers' is obscure, and Duhm resorts to the device of amending the phrase into 'where is the prefect (*lit.* the tablet-writer) with the mercenaries?' But such an alteration of text is scarcely defensible here, though the meaning be obscure. 'Counting the towers' would be done by the defender of a city before it was attacked or besieged by the foe. This affords us a fairly intelligible interpretation.

19. The word **no'āz** rendered by **fierce** occurs here only, and its actual existence is extremely doubtful. Perhaps the explanation of the form given by Gesenius in his *Thesaurus* (607 f.) is correct, and the word is to be rendered 'bold,' 'unabashed' (so Duhm). Render: 'a people of deep speech so that thou canst not hear, stammering with the tongue so that thou canst not understand'—in other words, speaking a mysterious foreign, barbarous and unintelligible language. In the better times that are coming these shall no longer be at our gates. The description here probably applies to foreign, perhaps Indo-Germanic, tribes who were component elements in the armies of Nebuchadnezzar. Compare the similar language of Jer. v. 15, 'a nation whose language thou understandest not, nor comprehendest (hearest) what they say.' Cf. also the description of the 'Chaldaeans' in Hab. i. 5 foll. (probably an older oracle of Habakkuk set in the midst of later utterances).

20. For **solemnities** read 'festal days.' This reference to Jerusalem is in full accord with Isaianic feeling and the ideas cherished and instilled by the great prophet a century before (cf. xxviii. 16 foll.).

shall see Jerusalem a quiet habitation, a tent that shall not be removed, the stakes whereof shall never be plucked up,
 21 neither shall any of the cords thereof be broken. But there the LORD will be with us in majesty, a place of broad rivers and streams ; wherein shall go no galley with oars, neither
 22 shall gallant ship pass thereby. For the LORD is our judge, the LORD is our lawgiver, the LORD is our king ; he will
 23 save us. Thy tacklings are loosed ; they could not strengthen the foot of their mast, they could not spread the sail : then was the prey of a great spoil divided ; the
 24 lame took the prey. And the inhabitant shall not say, I am sick : the people that dwell therein shall be forgiven their iniquity.

21. 'For there (i. e. in Zion) shall we find Yahweh in majesty.' The rendering *but* is due to the Massoretic Hebrew text. The LXX presuppose here a purer text, which at this point may with some probability be regarded as correct. Render, therefore, 'for,' which is also more intelligible. Continue to read with R. V. (marg.) : 'in place (instead) of broad streams on which shall go no fleet propelled by oars, &c.' The writer contrasts Jerusalem, to which Yahweh is a defence better than any fortress or defensive work, with the great cities on the Tigris, Euphrates, or Nile (e. g. Thebes, Nah. ii .7, iii. 8), where rivers or canals formed a powerful military protection. See article 'Siege' in *Enc. Bibl.*

22. 'Her (i. e. the ship's) cords are unloosed, they do not fix firmly the framework of their mast, have not unfurled the flag.' This verse seems misplaced. It should come after verse 21. Following verse 22 it has no proper significance. Marti, adopting a hint from Cheyne (in *SBOT.*), regards this verse in its earlier portion as a marginal gloss taken by some writer from an old elegy on Tyre (cf. Ezek. xxvii. 26-36).

The concluding lines—

'Then was the plundered spoil divided in abundance,
 (Even) the lame carried off spoil'—
 might be understood as a sequence to verse 22.

24. A final touch in the picture of the Messianic age. No *illness* *befalls* the inhabitant. Bodily health corresponds to the *peace within* of a soul whose sin is forgiven.

[PE] Come near, ye nations, to hear ; and hearken, ye 34

CHAPTERS XXXIV, XXXV.

Chapter xxxiv is evidently a post-exilian work, and the same remark applies to the lyrical strains of chap. xxxv, in which the Redemption of Israel is portrayed, the latter forming a fitting contrast and counterpart to the destructive judgment about to overtake Edom, which forms the main theme of the apocalyptic chapter which precedes.

The contents may be briefly set forth. A great judgment of Divine wrath is to befall all the nations (verses 1-4), and its full fury is to descend on Edom in retribution for past misdeeds. The whole land is to be bathed in blood, as though of God's sacrificial slaughter, and demon-shapes shall infest Edom's solitudes, ravaged by the Divine visitation (verses 5-17). The lyrical contrast of chap. xxxv succeeds, probably in consequence of a general principle of prophetic redaction, whereby light follows after the sombre shade. It is, however, generally recognized that the author of xxxiv and of xxxv is the same person, and that there is an integral unity between these two contrasted chapters.

Here, as in chap. xxxiii, we have four-lined stanzas, but each verse in chap. xxxiii is longer (excepting verse 22) than in the present poem, where we have verses consisting of two or three accented syllables, with a more pleasing rhythmic movement. Moreover, the style of chaps. xxxiv, xxxv is more definitely non-Isaianic, and can hardly be assigned even to the Exile period, since we have so many points of contact with post-exilian literature (Psalms, Proverbs, Zechariah, Trito-Isaiah) as well as exilian and pre-exilian writings. The facts of language are here again carefully and fully set forth in Cheyne's *Introd. to Isaiah*, pp. 206-8, and (not so completely) in Dillmann-Kittel's commentary. Another prominent feature is the *apocalyptic colouring*, which is an evident sign of lateness (see especially xxx, verses 1-5 and 8-10), the Divine judgment being portrayed as *universal*, including all nations (verses 1, 2), and the heavens (verses 4, 5) as well as the earth ; cf. notes on chaps. xxiv-xxvii. pp. 267-9.

The particular reference to Edom and the Divine judgment upon it gives us the main historic clue whereby the age of this composition may be determined. Cheyne combines Mal. i. 1-5 (where Edom saith : ' We are broken in pieces, yet we will once more rebuild the waste places,' thus saith Yahweh : ' *They* may build, yet *I* shall pull down ') with the terrible calamities befalling the Edomites to which Diodorus Siculus (xix. 94-9) refers, viz. the incursions of the Nabataeans from Arabia, which are regarded as Divine punishment for the invasions of South Judaea by Edomites during the Exile. These disasters probably befall Edom

peoples : let the earth hear, and the fulness thereof; : the world, and all things that come forth of it. For the **LORD** hath indignation against all the nations, and fury against all their host : he hath utterly destroyed them, he hath delivered them to the slaughter. Their slain also shall be cast out, and the stink of their carcases shall come up, and the mountains shall be melted with their blood. And all the host of heaven shall be dissolved, and the heavens shall be rolled together as a scroll : and all their host shall fade away, as the leaf fadeth from off the vine, and as a

from the days of Malachi towards the close of the fifth century (to which Isa. lxiii. 1-5 also refers), and continued for a considerable time during the fourth century. Probably these chapters were composed during this period¹.

Verses 1-5. The world and its peoples summoned to hear God's judgment of wrath on all nations.

1. This opening verse is full of echoes of earlier literature, pre-exilian, exilian, and post-exilian. The invocation of nature is an echo of Isa. i. 2, and perhaps also of Deut. xxxii. 1 : **things that come forth** (or 'offspring') is the same expression as that which meets us in chap. xxii. 24, xlvi. 5. Ps. xxiv. 1 furnishes a close parallel, but in this case it is difficult to be certain about priority.

2. **utterly destroyed**: we might with more accuracy render 'devoted to destruction,' or better still 'placed under a Divine ban of destruction.' The original is a gruesome word which belongs to primitive Semitic warfare in which the sacred ban of utter destruction went forth against hostile populations and their property : Joshua viii. 26, x. 28, 37, xi. 11, xii. 21 ; 1 Sam. xv. 3 foll. The corresponding subst. *herem* occurs in Joshua vi. 18, vii. 12; Zech. xiv. 11; Mal. iii. 24. The second stanza contained in this verse seems to be one line short.

3. For **be melted** read 'flow.'

4. **The host of heaven** means the stars, which were regarded as spirits ; cf. note on i. 9.

¹ The tradition of enmity between Israel and Edom which is expressed in the patriarchal legend Gen. xv. 22-36 became perpetuated in later Jewish literature. See Sanday-Headlam's note on Rom. ix. 12, 13; and cf. Jer. xlix. 7-22; Ps. cxlvii. 7 : *Book of Enoch* lxxxix. 11-12; *Jubilees* xxxvii. 22 foll.; Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* iv. 4. 1 foll. Cf. p. 245 note and 279 (xxv. 10 and note).

fading leaf from the fig tree. For my sword hath drunk 5 its fill in heaven : behold, it shall come down upon Edom, and upon the people of my curse, to judgement. The 6 sword of the LORD is filled with blood, it is made fat with fatness; with the blood of lambs and goats, with the fat of the kidneys of rams : for the LORD hath a sacrifice in Bozrah, and a great slaughter in the land of Edom. And 7 the wild-oxen shall come down with them, and the bullocks

Verses 5-17. God's special judgment of wrath on Edom.

5. **drunk its fill**: i. e. with Divine wrath and in preparation for its grim function of slaughter. **The people of my curse** means 'the people whom I have subjected to my ban, or devoted to destruction'; cf. verse 2.

6. The slaughtered Edomites are compared to sacrificial victims. When we bear in mind the grim tradition of the Divine 'ban,' or *herem*, the metaphor is natural enough. **The fat of the kidneys of rams** reminds us of Lev. iii. 4, 10, 15.

Bosrah (called *Bosor* in LXX, as though there were no final fem. ending) is the modern *Buṣaire*, and was the capital of Edom. It should be distinguished from a more famous *Bosrah* in the Hauran. The place was visited by Doughty, who says that small cattle 'to-day abound upon this mountain-side' (*Arabia Deserta*, i, p. 39), which partly explains the sacrificial allusions of the passage. We are reminded of the language of chap. lxiii. 1 foll., where Edom and *Bosra* are mentioned as the scene of Divine vengeance.

7. **The wild-oxen** (R.V.) are depicted for us on the Assyrian monuménts, from whose portrayals we derive the conception of an animal 'with powerfully-arched neck covered with mane-like hair, which also extended over the shoulder, and possessed also a pair of short bent horns' (Schrader, *Keilinsch. u. Geschichtsforschung*, p. 135 footnote). The Assyrian name for the wild-ox coincides with the Hebrew, viz. *rimu* (*rēmu*). In the great monolith inscription of Ašur-našir-abal, col. iii. 48 foll., that monarch boasts of having slain fifty and captured eight of these *rimi* with his own hand. Cf. Cylinder Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I, col. vi. 62-70. Fried. Delitzsch, *Hebrew in the Light of Assyrian Research*, p. 6; see Num. xxiii. 22; Deut. xxxiii. 17; Job xxxix. 9, 10. The rendering of A. V. 'unicorn' is simply a reproduction of the Vulg. *unicornis*, which in turn is based on LXX.

come down is too weak a rendering. Translate: 'fall down,' slaughtered in the day of Divine vengeance (LXX, *Peshitto*). The verb is similarly used in Hag. ii. 22.

with the bulls; and their land shall be drunken with blood,
 8 and their dust made fat with fatness. For it is the day of
 the LORD's vengeance, the year of recompence in the con-
 9 troversy of Zion. And the streams thereof shall be turned
 10 into pitch, and the dust thereof into brimstone, and the
 land thereof shall become burning pitch. It shall not be
 quenched night nor day; the smoke thereof shall go up
 for ever: from generation to generation it shall lie waste;
 11 none shall pass throughit for ever and ever. But the pelican
 and the porcupine shall possess it; and the owl and the
 raven shall dwell therein: and he shall stretch over it the
 12 line of confusion, and the plummet of emptiness. They
 shall call the nobles thereof to the kingdom, but none shall

8. 'The day of vengeance, the year of retribution in Zion's quarrel,' is the visitation on Edom for the assistance which that people rendered to Judah's enemies in bringing about the destruction of Jerusalem, the pursuit of Jewish fugitives, and the annexation of Judaean territory (*Obad.* 10 foll.; *Ezek.* xxv. 12, xxxv. 5 foll.; *Ps.* cxxxvii. 7). Duhm calls attention to the alternation of 'day' and 'year' in this passage, and the close parallel in Isa. lxi. 2, lxiii. 4, which is an indication that the writer of this chapter borrowed from the *Trito-Isaiah*.

11-15. Birds and beasts and weird demon-shapes shall inhabit the awful solitude created by this Divine visitation of judgment.

11. Instead of *porcupine* (or 'hedgehog') better translate 'bittern'; cf. xiv. 23 note. The context mentions birds only. Against the rendering 'bittern,' however, it has been argued that the *bittern* is a bird of the swamp, and would not inhabit a dry and rugged or mountainous land; see article 'Bittern' in *Hastings' DB*, and compare Zeph. ii. 14.

Render: 'He (i. e. Yahweh) shall stretch over it the line of chaos (waste) and the plummet of desolation.' The metaphor is derived from building, as in Amos vii. 7-9.

12. Render with R. V. marg.: 'As for her (its) nobles there are none there that proclaim the kingdom.' The verse, however, is evidently incomplete, and does not contain the requisite number of words to make up the necessary two couplets, or four lines. A reference to the LXX (close of preceding verse) shows us how it should be completed, and the verse, as reconstructed by Duhm, might be provisionally accepted as a probable restoration:—

be there; and all her princes shall be nothing. And thorns 13 shall come up in her palaces, nettles and thistles in the fortresses thereof: and it shall be an habitation of jackals, a court for ostriches. And the wild beasts of the desert 14 shall meet with the wolves, and the satyr shall cry to his fellow; yea, the night-monster shall settle there, and shall

'And Satyrs (LXX, ὄνοκέτραυποι) shall dwell in it;

Its nobles shall become as nought,

And there is no kingdom which they shall proclaim;

And all its princes shall be no more.'

The fact that the mention of the Satyrs recurs in verse 14 is no objection to the presence of the word in the first line, which is certified by the LXX rendering. The Satyrs were demons conceived as hairy goat-shaped creatures (*s'irim*). Cf. xiv. 21, and article 'Demon' in Hastings' *DB.*, p. 591^a, and 'Satyr' in *Enc. Bibl.* Demons were held by the ancient Semites to frequent ruined, desolate, and waterless spots. These, with birds and wild animals, shall be the only denizens of the depopulated and ruined Edom, whose greatness and glory shall have vanished.

13. 'And its fortresses shall arise with thorns;

Nettles and thistles shall grow up in its fastnesses.'

The phraseology of the rest of this verse and of that which follows is obviously based on xiii. 21, 22. For court we might substitute 'enclosure.'

14. Following the analogy of the corresponding Arabic word, substitute for *wild beasts of the desert* *wild cats*¹. Also in place of *wolves* render 'hyaenas.' Translate 'the satyr shall meet his fellow.' The Hebrew form rendered *cry* bears also the signification 'meet,' being in reality a distinct word. In this way the parallelism with the preceding clause is restored.

'There the night-hag (*Lilith*) reposes.' The 'night-hag' or *Lilith* was a mythical demon-form like the shaggy satyr. In fact, all the animal-shapes, jackals, hyaenas, &c., were also demon-forms as well, which inhabited lonely spots, like the Arabic *Ghūl* and *Ifrīt*, which infested the desert: cf. article 'Demon' in Hastings' *DB.*, p. 590^b, containing references to the *Jinn* of Arabia as well as the Hebrew *Lilith*, the night-demon (Babylonian *lilitu*). It is certain that the latter conception was derived by the exilian and post-exilian Judaism from Babylonia Monu-

¹ It is impossible in the English rendering to reproduce the assonance or rhymed endings in the first clause of the original: 'wild cats . . . hyaenas.'

15 find her a place of rest. There shall the arrowsnake make her nest, and lay, and hatch, and gather under her shadow: yea, there shall the kites be gathered, every one with her mate. Seek ye out of the book of the LORD, and read: no one of these shall be missing, none shall want her mate: for my mouth it hath commanded, and his spirit it

mental representations always depict demons with some animal or human form—sometimes both combined.

15. The word for *arrowsnake* is not the form which is read by the LXX, but the closely similar one rendered above ‘bittern’ (hedgehog, porcupine). We might, perhaps, render: ‘the kites gather themselves together, the one the other.’ But the harshness of this construction leads us to suspect the text, and this suspicion is confirmed by the LXX. On the whole, we should probably do right to connect the last two words in the Hebrew of this verse with the first of the following: ‘Each one seeks his mate.’

16. If we follow the hints afforded by the LXX, we might with fair probability adopt an emended text, and translate: ‘Yahweh summons (them) according to number; not one of them is missing. [Not one misses his mate¹.] For the mouth of Yahweh hath commanded (it), and His Spirit hath gathered them together.’ The conception of ‘summoning according to number’ has a close parallel in xl. 26, where God marshalls the stars and brings forth their host by number.

On the other hand, both A.V. and R.V. follow our traditional Hebrew text. But the command to the reader to search in Yahweh’s book is a remarkable and far-fetched expression. Duhm, though he follows this text in his own rendering, declares it to be ‘one of the strangest sentences in all the prophetic writings.’ What is the ‘book’ here meant? The prophet’s own writing, small in extent, or the entire collection of Isaiah’s oracles, so far as that collection then had extended? According to Duhm it means the former, as we do not anywhere else find a list of Edom’s future animal-demon inhabitants. In our opinion neither is meant, but the phrase should be combined with Ps. cxxxix. 16. The expression is a bold poetic appeal to search God’s book of fate, where all these future denizens of Edom’s desolated abodes

¹ Duhm omits this bracketed line, which certainly seems to be a variant duplicate to the line ‘Each one seeks his mate’ at the close of verse 15, and renders the concluding stanza five-lined instead of four-lined.

hath gathered them. And he hath cast the lot for them,¹⁷ and his hand hath divided it unto them by line : they shall possess it for ever, from generation to generation shall they dwell therein.

The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad ; **35**

will be found recorded. But it is extremely doubtful whether it stood in the original text.

17. Among the wild animals and demon-shapes Edom's desolated country is apportioned by lot, just as the promised land was apportioned to Israel. This feature seems of itself to indicate a post-exilian origin for this chapter, since the tradition of the division of the West-Jordan country among the tribes by lot (Num. xxvi. 55 foll., xxxiii. 54, xxxiv. 13, xxxvi. 2 foll.; Josh. xiii. 6, xiv. 2, xxiii. 4) belongs to the *Priestercodex* or to a late documentary source¹.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Israel's deliverance, the return of the dispersed Hebrews, and the advent of the golden age. This brief poem is in the same verse-measure as the preceding chapter, and consists of ten four-lined stanzas. In both we have evidently the same authorship, and both have an eschatological character, but the external link of connexion is not apparent. On the other hand, there is clearly-marked contrast. Instead of the doom of Divine judgment and vengeance on Edom, there is the promise of salvation and Divine blessing on Israel. We have, however, a definite point of contact between the two chapters in xxxiv. 8 and xxxv. 4, in which reference is made to the 'day of vengeance in Zion's quarrel.' This is evidently the underlying keynote in both chapters. In xxxiv the dark side is presented in the utter destruction of Edom, Judah's remorseless foe, and the desolation of her ruined, demon-haunted palaces. In chapter xxxv the bright side is presented in Israel's complete restoration and the final glory of Zion.

The echoes of Deutero-Isaianic and Trito-Isaianic passages are clearly apparent, especially in verses 8–10, in which the 'holy way' to Zion, which the unclean are not to tread, and other traits of the coming golden age, are reminiscences of xl. 3, xli. 18, xlivi. 19, xlvi. 11, li. 3, 11 (literally copied), lii. 11, 12, lxi. 7, lxii. 10–12.

1. For **solitary place** read with marg. 'parched land.' On the Arabah or desert, cf. xxxiii. 9 (and note) to which these two verses give the reverse. We might with appropriateness render :

¹ Benzinger, art. 'Los bei den H̄ebäern,' in PRE³, vi. p. 645.

2 and the desert shall rejoice, and blossom as the rose. It shall blossom abundantly, and rejoice even with joy and singing ; the glory of Lebanon shall be given unto it, the excellency of Carmel and Sharon : they shall see the glory of the LORD, the excellency of our God.

3 Strengthen ye the weak hands, and confirm the feeble knees. Say to them that are of a fearful heart, Be strong, fear not : behold, your God will come *with* vengeance, *with* the recompence of God ; he will come and save you. 5 Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears 6 of the deaf shall be unstopped. Then shall the lame man leap as an hart, and the tongue of the dumb shall sing : for in the wilderness shall waters break out, and streams 7 in the desert. And the glowing sand shall become a pool, and the thirsty ground springs of water : in the habitation

'Let the wilderness . . . be glad; let the desert exult, &c.' The translation **rose** is conventional; LXX render 'lily' (*krinon*). In the Assyrian *habasillatu* we have the same word as in the original Heb. R. V. marg. correctly renders 'autumn crocus,' *colchicum autumnale*, that grows in abundance in the meadows.

3. **feeble**, or rather with R.V. marg. 'tottering' ('stumbling').

4. **For of a fearful heart** a stronger rendering, 'panic-stricken (or agonized) in mind,' should be substituted. The last clause should properly be, 'Tis *He* will come and save you.' The pronoun in the original is emphatic.

7. The word here rendered **glowing sand** is translated 'heat' in xlix. 10. The interpretation which has attracted most commentators is 'mirage,' since the corresponding word in Arabic, *sarâb*, bears this meaning. Consequently they would render: 'The mirage shall become a [real] lake.' But there are grave objections to this interpretation: (1) It destroys the parallelism of the verse. In the corresponding parallel which follows we have **thirsty ground**, a fairly correct translation of the original. (2) In xlix. 10, where the same word occurs, the rendering 'neither mirage nor sun shall smite them' does not yield an intelligible sense. It therefore seems safer to abandon the rendering 'mirage' and follow the LXX and other versions, and render as above, '**glowing sand**'. This is supported by the meaning which belongs to the root in Aramaic, 'to be glowing' (or 'dry'). The verse appears to be an echo of xli. 18.

of jackals, where they lay, shall be grass with reeds and rushes. And an high way shall be there, and a way, and it shall be called The way of holiness ; the unclean shall not pass over it ; but it shall be for those : the wayfaring men, yea fools, shall not err therein. No lion shall be there, nor shall any ravenous beast go up thereon, they shall not be found there ; but the redeemed shall walk there : and the ransomed of the LORD shall return, and come with singing unto Zion ; and everlasting joy shall be upon their heads : they shall obtain gladness and joy, and sorrow and sighing shall flee away.

where they lay is very questionable. The original text is most uncertain at this point, as the LXX indicate. Bickell and Duhm would follow the close parallel in xxxiv. 13 in restoring the text here, and would complete the four lines thus :—

‘In the habitation of jackals (wolves) and hyaenas
Shall rest your flocks and herds ;
The enclosure of ostriches
Shall become reeds and rushes.’

Cheyne in *SBOT*. restores the quatrain in like manner.

8. The way for the pilgrim to Zion is to be a *holy* way. Consequently no unclean person is to tread it. ‘Unclean’ here means heathen. Cf. lii, 1 ‘uncircumcized and unclean’ are not to enter the holy city.

It shall be for those is an extremely doubtful rendering of a very obscure original. Duhm would, following Klostermann and Bredenkamp, make a slight change in the text (*lē'ammō* for *lāmō*) and, connecting it with the next two words in the original, would translate : ‘seeing that it belongs to His people as they pass along the way’ ; but, since this line is superfluous to the quatrain, Duhm sets it aside as a gloss.

When we compare the LXX our doubts respecting our Hebrew text increase. Certainly the LXX are not by any means safe guides in textual restoration ; yet their rendering of this verse maintains the quatrain stanza and the due balance and parallelism of the clauses :—

‘And there shall be there a pure way,
And a holy way shall it be called ;
No unclean person shall pass over it,
Nor shall there be there an unclean path.’

86 [Is.¹] Now it came to pass in the fourteenth year of king

CHAPTERS XXXVI-XXXIX.

Historical Appendix on the Campaign of Sennacherib and Siege of Jerusalem. Illness of Hezekiah, and Embassy of Merodach-Baladan.

This historical appendix to the first portion in the entire collection of Isaiah's and other later prophecies is, with certain exceptions, nearly identical with 2 Kings xviii. 13-xx. 19. These exceptions are (a) 2 Kings xviii. 14-16, which are not contained in the Isaianic version, and (b) a converse case, Isa. xxxviii. 9-20, which are not contained in the version of 2 Kings. If the latter be inserted into the 2 Kings narrative they would come after chap. xx. 11. As a matter of fact, Isa. xxxviii. 21, 22 are displaced from their true connexion, since they correspond to 2 Kings xx. 7, 8. In the Isaian version they should be placed between chap. xxxviii. 6 and verses 7, 8.

That these chapters do not proceed from the hand of Isaiah is now recognized by all the leading critics. Formerly Vitringa and Franz Delitzsch assumed that they did on the ground of 2 Chron. xxvi. 22, xxxii. 32, which give a late tradition that Isaiah wrote this historical narrative of his own times just as he had written the annals of Uzziah's reign. But there are many reasons for rejecting this tradition. (1) The reference to the murder of Sennacherib (Isa. xxxvii. 38; 2 Kings xix. 37), which took place in 681 b. c., and can hardly have been an event coming within Isaiah's lifetime. (2) We have also Deuteronomic conceptions and phrases, e. g. xxxvii. 4, 35; xxxviii. 3, 5, which are foreign to Isaiah, and are due to the redactor of the Books of Kings. (3) The language, e. g. 'Jewish language' (xxxvi. 11), 'treasure-house' (xxxix. 2), and many other details, for which the student is referred to Cheyne's *Introd.* p. 222.

A further question arises as to the origin of this historical appendix. Is it to be proximately found in 2 Kings, or in Isaiah? Here the opinion of Cheyne may be cited as sound in principle and result: 'On minor variations [between the Isaiah and the Kings version] no great stress can be laid, both the parallel texts having such a long history behind them. The fact, however, that the writer of Isaiah shows a marked tendency to abbreviate (see especially xxxvi. 2, cf. 2 Kings xviii. 7) confirms the view that Isaiah is dependent on 2 Kings, and not 2 Kings on Isaiah.' A further support to this conclusion may be found in the obvious displacement of Isa. xxxviii. 21, 22 from their right position, to which reference has been made above. Their original and true position may be found in the Kings version. It is quite clear that the motive of this displacement is to be found in the thanksgiving at the close of the Psalm, verses 10-20, placed in the

Hezekiah, that Sennacherib king of Assyria came up

mouth of Hezekiah. The grounds for this gratitude are held to be the recovery of Hezekiah from illness, the circumstances of which are detailed in verses 21, 22. But it is quite obvious that the position in which they are placed, detached from verses 7 and 8, is thoroughly artificial.

The purpose of this historical supplement to chapters 4-xxxv is fairly apparent. It was intended to meet the convenience of the Jewish readers of the oracles of the prophet, who desired to have a clear account of the great historic episode in which he played so distinguished a part (see Introd. p. 68).

The critical investigations of Stade, *ZATW.* (1886), p. 173 foll., followed by those of Winckler in his *Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen* (1892), pp. 26 foll., have clearly revealed the fact that the narrative of Sennacherib's invasion of Palestine and siege of Jerusalem comes from three distinct documents, viz. (a) 2 Kings xviii. 14-16; (b) 2 Kings xviii. 13, 17-xix. 8 (*Isa. xxxvi. 1-xxxvii. 8*); and (c) 2 Kings xix. 9-37 (*Isa. xxxvii. 9-38*). Of these three (a) is not to be found in the Isaianic compilation. The question arises: Did it exist in the original source in 2 Kings, from which it was borrowed? This appears to the present writer extremely doubtful. Verse 13 in 2 Kings is distinguished from the verses which follow (14-16) by the fact that the name of the king of Judah in the former is *Hizkiyyâhû*, while in the latter it is *Hizkiyyah*. The longer form, which occurs in verse 13, is that which occurs throughout in (b) and (c), whether in the 2 Kings or the Isaianic recensions. On the other hand, the shorter form in verses 14-16 is that which occurs elsewhere in the same chapter in 2 Kings except in verse 9, where the other form (*Hizkiyyâhû*) is employed. While no hard and fast critical conclusion can be based solely on this detail respecting the form of the king's name, there is another significant fact which should be carefully noted. Extract (a), which is omitted in the Isaiah recension, makes express reference to a donative presented by Hezekiah to the Assyrian monarch. To this fact there is not the remotest reference in (b) and (c). This leads us to conclude that this section (a), verses 14-16, came to be subsequently incorporated in a later edition of 2 Kings from the royal annals of the kingdom of Judah. The motive of its omission in the earlier edition is obvious, since it is the record of a national humiliation brought about by a king who had been commended by the Deuteronomic redactor (xviii. 3 foll.). That verses 14-16 came from an old and trustworthy source is clearly shown by the fact that its statement regarding the large donative is confirmed by the concluding lines in the portion of the Taylor cylinder that describes the Palestinian campaign of Sennacherib (see *Excursus*, p. 371).

against all the fenced cities of Judah, and took them.

The remaining problems presented to us for solution by these three narratives are their relation to the cuneiform record of the Taylor cylinder and to one another. The dispatch of Rabshakeh and the other envoys to Jerusalem, and the speech of Rabshakeh, with all that follows, described in the second narrative (*b*), belong to the concluding part of the third or Palestinian campaign of Sennacherib, which comes after the battle of Altakū or Eltekeh (see Introduction), and during his halt at Lachish. To this there is no reference in the cuneiform annals. We have no sufficient reason to doubt, as Winckler does¹, whether Jerusalem was actually besieged. The cuneiform annals in this respect fully substantiate the biblical record.

The general outlines and main features of the narrative (*b*) we may regard as trustworthy. Kittel, in his commentary on the Books of Kings, rightly observes that speeches of the character of that which is placed in the mouth of Rabshakeh are not to be taken as verbatim reports, but as representing the general drift and content of what was actually said. We may trust the main outlines of the narrative which Tacitus gives of the campaign of Agricola against Galgacus without accepting the literal accuracy of the report of that chieftain's address to his clans. We may safely concur in Kittel's view, which ascribes the account (*b*) to a comparatively early source, and also in defending it from the charge of being a coloured and biased production which Meinhold brings against it².

The same degree of trustworthiness cannot be ascribed by sober criticism to the narrative (*c*), which is evidently of considerably later origin, viz. from a source which was composed by a biographer of the prophet shortly before the Exile or during the exilian period. Several features in this narrative should be noted:—(1) The enormous number (185,000) of those who were slain by the pestilence. (2) The ascription of the withdrawal of Sennacherib to this cause, whereas the reason assigned in the earlier narrative (*b*) is a 'rumour' which may probably mean the tidings of revolt in Babylonia (see Introduction, p. 41). (3) The lengthy speech of the prophet, xix. 21–34 (Isa. xxxvii. 22–35), which stands contrasted

¹ Winckler lays undue stress on the fact that the ordinary Assyrian word for 'besiege' (*lāmū*) is not employed. But against the absence of this technical term is to be set the very explicit and graphic description of col. iii, lines 20–23, which the reader may study for himself in the appended translation (see *Excursus*). Cf. Winckler, *Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen*, p. 31.

² See Kittel's 'Handcommentar' to Kings, p. 281.

And the king of Assyria sent Rabshakeh from Lachish

in its length with the brief utterance in (*b*) 2 Kings xix. 6, 7 (Isa. xxxvii. 6, 7). (4) The reference to the death of Sennacherib, which occurred twenty years after his Palestinian campaign (viz. in 681 B.C.). Lastly (5) the mention of Tirhakah in Isa. xxxvii. 9 (2 Kings xix. 9) is due to an historic confusion. Guthe¹ supposes that the writer is here referring to a later expedition of Sennacherib, to which his successor Esarhaddon makes an allusion in the prism-inscriptions *A* and *C*. col. ii. 55 (cf. col. iii. 3 foll.). See Schrader, *KIB.*, ii. p. 130. This was a campaign by Sennacherib, to the northern part of Arabia, in which a fortress, Adumu, was captured. But this allusion, as well as Herod. ii. 141, form a very slender basis on which to erect a theory that at that time (689 or some following year) Sennacherib came into conflict with Tirhakah, and that Hezekiah became involved in the struggle. Guthe's supposition that Isa. xx. 3 foll., xxx. 1-5, and xxxi. 1-3 must be referred to this later conflict with Assyria, when Egypt actually entered the lists, must be considered to rest upon a very frail support of historic evidence². We have, therefore, no reason to suppose that the narrative (*c*) refers to any subsequent campaign of Sennacherib against Judah. The evidence of the cuneiform records, and the indications afforded by the oracles of Isaiah, go to prove that Egypt took no effective part in the struggle between the Palestinian states and Sennacherib in 701. The princes of the land Musri, and the chariot-commanders of the land Meluhha, to which the prism-inscription (Taylor cylinder) of Sennacherib refers in the account of the battle of Altakū, are now known, through Winckler's investigations, to be Arabian and not Egyptian and Ethiopian officers. Twenty years ago both Schrader and Delitzsch³ identified Muṣri with Egypt and Meluhha with Ethiopia. The investigations of Winckler go to prove that the land Muṣri is to be sought in the region south of Judah near to Edom, and that the land Meluhha was situated in North-Western Arabia, east of the gulf of Akaba (Elanitic gulf). See the map at the close of *KAT.*⁴, where these districts are clearly indicated.

There is insufficient evidence to warrant us in assuming that there were two separate campaigns of Sennacherib against

¹ *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, pp. 203 foll. According to Winckler's *Geschichte Israels*, p. 97, this hypothetical second invasion of Palestine by Sennacherib took place somewhere between 689 and 681 B.C.

² See Johns' art. 'Sennacherib' in *Enc. Bibl.* col. 4367.

³ Cf. Fried. Delitzsch's *Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 105 foll., 130, 137-140, 308, 310.

to Jerusalem unto king Hezekiah with a great army. And he stood by the conduit of the upper pool in the high way 3 of the fuller's field. Then came forth unto him Eliakim the son of Hilkiah, which was over the household, and Shebna the scribe, and Joah the son of Asaph the recorder. 4 And Rabshakeh said unto them, Say ye now to Hezekiah, Thus saith the great king, the king of Assyria, What 5 confidence is this wherein thou trustest? I say, thy counsel

Palestine, to which the two accounts (*b*) and (*c*) respectively refer. When we compare these two records the question arises whether we have not two parallel and divergent narratives of one and the same set of negotiations between the deputies of the Assyrian king and of Hezekiah. This view has commended itself to recent critics.

The notes which follow are much restricted in extent, since almost the entire ground has already been covered in the commentary by Prof. Skinner on the Books of Kings contributed to this Century Bible series. To this volume we would refer the reader. The Hebrew student will find a list of the textual variations between the Isaiah and the Kings version in Kuennen's *Historisch-kritische Einleitung*, II. Theil, pp. 76-8.

xxxvi. 2. In Isaiah we have only mention of *Rabshakeh*, whereas in a Kings we have besides the *Tartān*, or chief commander of the Assyrian forces, and also the *Rab-saris* ('chief eunuch' as the word stands in our Hebrew: cf. Jer. xxxix. 3, 13, as well as Dan. i. 3). Fried. Delitzsch, in his *Assyrian Dict.* under *šakū* explains the word *Rabshakeh* (in the Assyrian *rabi-šakū* or *šakē*) as a military title, meaning 'general.' But if the version in Kings is correct in mentioning the *Tartān* (Assyrian *Turtanu*) as well as *Rabshakeh*, we then have two military officers. It is difficult to see why another military officer should have been sent with the commander-in-chief. Accordingly the view advocated by Zimmern in *KAT.*³, p. 651, that *Rabshakeh* means 'chief cupbearer,' has more intrinsic probability¹.

On conduit of the upper pool cf. vii. 3 and note.

3. On the officials here mentioned see *Hebrew Antiquities*, (R. T. S.), p. 150, and cf. a Sam. viii. 16-18, 1 Kings iv. 3 foll. Eliakim's office is by no means clear. See Nowack, *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Archäologie*, vol. i. pp. 308 foll.

¹ See also Zimmern's article in *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 1899, pp. 116 foll.

and strength for the war are but vain words: now on whom dost thou trust, that thou hast rebelled against me? Behold, thou trustest upon the staff of this bruised reed, even upon Egypt; whereon if a man lean, it will go into his hand, and pierce it: so is Pharaoh king of Egypt to all that trust on him. But if thou say unto me, We trust in the LORD our God: is not that he, whose high places and whose altars Hezekiah hath taken away, and hath said

6. It is strange to find Rabshakeh emphasizing the arguments which Isaiah had himself employed in former years against the Egyptian alliance (chaps. xx. 9-5, xxx, 7, xxxi. 1-3). The image of the snapped or cracked reed was a current mode of designating weakness or failing strength; comp. xlvi. 3.

7. It is most difficult to determine to what extent the reformation described in 2 Kings xviii. 4 was actually carried out, and at what time. It is quite certain that the immense expansion of detail in 2 Chronicles, in which this single verse in 2 Kings has swollen to three chapters, can hardly be treated as historical. It must be remembered that even the earliest redaction of the Books of Kings cannot be assigned to any date previous to about 600 B.C. Consequently in dealing with 2 Kings xviii. 4 we should recollect that the influences of Deuteronomy and the traditions of Josiah's reformation moulded the thought of the redactor and gave a certain colouring to his statement. Wellhausen thinks that Hezekiah confined himself to the removal of the Asherah, or sacred pole, from the Jerusalem temple and the destruction of the brazen serpent (cf. Num. xxi. 8, 9) to which offerings had been made¹. Hezekiah acted, 'as we may suppose, under the influence

¹ *Israelitische u. jüdische Geschichte*, p. 126: cf. Stade, *Gesch. Isr.* i. pp. 507 foll.; *ZATW.*, iii. pp. 8 foll., vi. 170 foll., also Burney on 2 Kings xviii. 1-8. From Jer. xxvi. 17-19 we should infer that the reforming zeal of Hezekiah was due to Micah the Morashite rather than to Isaiah. Cf. Mic. i. 5 in the Hebrew text. In the LXX on Mic. i. 5 the rendering is not 'high places' (*bāmōth*) but 'sin.' Consequently, some other word than *bāmōth* stood in the original text. Probably, as Nowack, in his commentary on the Minor Prophets, suggests, we should follow the LXX, and read *ha'lōth bēt*, 'sin of the house of' (Judah): *Bāmōth* arose through corruption of the latter word. This textual fact appears to be ignored by Lotz, in his article 'Hizkia,' *P.R.E.*², pp. 147 foll., in which the historical validity of 2 Kings xviii. 4 in all particulars is strongly affirmed.

On the diminishing number of high places in Judah, at the close of

to Judah and to Jerusalem, Ye shall worship before this
 8 altar? Now therefore, I pray thee, give pledges to my
 master the king of Assyria, and I will give thee two thou-
 sand horses, if thou be able on thy part to set riders upon
 9 them. How then canst thou turn away the face of one
 10 captain of the least of my master's servants, and put thy
 trust on Egypt for chariots and for horsemen? And am I
 now come up without the LORD against this land to destroy
 it? The LORD said unto me, Go up against this land, and
 11 destroy it. Then said Eliakim and Shebna and Joah unto
 Rabshakeh, Speak, I pray thee, unto thy servants in the
 Syrian language; for we understand it: and speak not to
 us in the Jews' language, in the ears of the people that are
 12 on the wall. But Rabshakeh said, Hath my master sent
 me to thy master, and to thee, to speak these words? *hath*

of Isaiah's iconoclastic teaching': ii. 8, xvii. 8, xxx. 22, xxxi. 7 (Buchanan Gray, *Numbers*, p. 274). It is, however, difficult to determine the extent to which measures were taken for the suppression of high places. Undoubtedly their maintenance and traditions must have been discountenanced by Hezekiah because their cults were strongly impregnated by foreign influences. Hosea, as well as Isaiah, had already denounced the image-worship.

The time when these measures were taken for the purification of cultus was probably after 701, when the teaching of Isaiah had received its wonderful vindication by the deliverance of Jerusalem from capture, and his personal influence became ascendant in the counsels of the king (so Skinner, *ad loc.*).

Accordingly, we are led to the conclusion that Rabshakeh's utterance in this verse is moulded by the tradition of a later time.

12. Rabshakeh, in his contemptuous rejection of the suggestion of Eliakim and Shebna that he should speak in the unfamiliar Aramaic language (Syrian), instead of the Hebrew (Jewish), which

the eighth century, see Introduction, p. 45. On the other hand, it is quite evident that a reactionary influence came into operation in the days of Manasseh and his successor (2 Kings xxi. 3 foll., 20 foll.), when a recrudescence of idolatry and its accompaniments took place: see *Jer.* ii. 28, iii. 6, vii. 17, 18, 31, xix. 4, 5, 13, &c.; *Zeph.* i. 4, 5.

He not sent me to the men that sit upon the wall, to eat their own dung, and to drink their own water with you? Then Rabshakeh stood, and cried with a loud voice in 13 the Jews' language, and said, *Hear ye the words of the great king, the king of Assyria.* Thus saith the king, *Let not Hezekiah deceive you; for he shall not be able to deliver you: neither let Hezekiah make you trust in the LORD,* saying, *The LORD will surely deliver us; this city shall not be given into the hand of the king of Assyria.* Hearken not to Hezekiah: for thus saith the king of Assyria, *Make your peace with me, and come out to me; and eat ye every one of his vine; and every one of his fig tree, and drink ye every one the waters of his own cistern:* until I come and take you away to a land like your own 17 land, a land of corn and wine, a land of bread and vineyards. Beware lest Hezekiah persuade you, saying, *The LORD will deliver us.* Hath any of the gods of the nations delivered his land out of the hand of the king of Assyria? Where are the gods of Hamath and Arpad? where are 19 the gods of Sepharvaim? and have they delivered Samaria out of my hand? Who are they among all the gods of 20 these countries, that have delivered their country out of my hand, that the LORD should deliver Jerusalem out of my hand? But they held their peace, and answered him not a word: for the king's commandment was, saying,

all understood, threatens the people with the dire and degrading extremities to which a prolonged siege would reduce them.

19. **Sepharvaim** can hardly be the Sipar in Babylonia with which Schrader would seek to identify it, *COT.*, ii. p. 9; cf. pp. 310 foll. Halévy, in *Zeitsch. für Assyr.* (1887) p. 401, connects this Sepharvaim with the Sebraim of Ezek. xlvi. 16, and identifies it with *Shabarain*, situated between Hamath and Damascus, destroyed by Shalmaneser IV. The geographical connexion of the name in the Kings version, 2 Kings xviii. 34, renders this a much more probable view. So also Kittel and Skinner.

22 Answer him not. Then came Eliakim the son of Hilkiah, that was over the household, and Shebna the scribe, and Joah the son of Asaph the recorder, to Hezekiah with their clothes rent, and told him the words of Rabshakeh.

37 And it came to pass, when king Hezekiah heard it, that he rent his clothes, and covered himself with sackcloth, **2** and went into the house of the LORD. And he sent Eliakim, who was over the household, and Shebna the scribe, and the elders of the priests, covered with sackcloth, **3** unto Isaiah the prophet the son of Amoz. And they said unto him, Thus saith Hezekiah, This day is a day of trouble, and of rebuke, and of contumely: for the children are come to the birth, and there is not strength to bring forth. It may be the LORD thy God will hear the words of Rabshakeh, whom the king of Assyria his master hath sent to reproach the living God; and will rebuke the words which the LORD thy God hath heard: wherefore lift up **5** thy prayer for the remnant that is left. So the servants **6** of king Hezekiah came to Isaiah. And Isaiah said unto them, Thus shall ye say to your master, Thus saith the LORD, Be not afraid of the words that thou hast heard, wherewith the servants of the king of Assyria have **7** blasphemed me. Behold, I will put a spirit in him, and he shall hear a rumour, and shall return unto his own land; and I will cause him to fall by the sword in his own land.

8 So Rabshakeh returned, and found the king of Assyria warring against Libnah: for he had heard that he was **9** departed from Lachish. [Is.²] And he heard say concern-

CHAPTER XXXVII.

8. *Libnah*, not far from Lachish, but cannot be certainly identified.

9. Here begins the later or second biographical narrative re-

ing Tirhakah king of Ethiopia. He is come out to fight against thee. And when he heard it, he sent messengers to Hezekiah, saying, Thus shall ye speak to Hezekiah king of Judah, saying, Let not thy God in whom thou trustest deceive thee, saying, Jerusalem shall not be given into the hand of the king of Assyria. Behold, thou hast heard what the kings of Assyria have done to all lands, by destroying them utterly: and shalt thou be delivered? Have the gods of the nations delivered them, which my fathers have destroyed, Gozan, and Haran, and Rezeph, and the children of Edom which were in Telassar? Where is the king of Hamath, and the king of Arpad, and the

specting the prophet Isaiah (*Is.²*). Owing to some error the name of Tirhakah is introduced into the narrative (see Introd. p. 37). Whether the name of the king of Ethiopia (Cush) was drawn into the narrative owing to some inference derived from chap. xviii. 1-5, in which reference is made to the embassy on papyrus boats to the court of Hezekiah, it is impossible to determine. As we have already explained, the 'rumour' in verse 7, which belongs to the earlier biographical narrative (*Is.¹*), should be interpreted as referring to the disaffection against Assyrian authority in Babylonia (Introd. p. 41). The redactor, however, evidently seeks to connect verse 9 with the 'rumour' in verse 7. *Is.²* begins abruptly as an extract from a document.

12-13: a close parallel to the same argument in chap. xxxvi. 19. This gives colour to the view that we have here in *Is.²* a parallel narrative of the same visit of Rabshakeh as that recorded in *Is.¹*

Rezeph is the Assyrian *Rasappa*, or the *Rusasa* of the Arabian geographers, lying about sixteen miles south of Sura on the Euphrates, situated in the desert on the road from Sura to Palmyra. One of the Tell-el Amarna letters is from a king of this city to Amenophis III. When it was conquered by the Assyrians we do not know. *The children of Edom*, or *Bene 'Eden*, is the *Bit-'Adini* of the cuneiform inscriptions, situated on both banks of the middle Euphrates. *Tel-assar* means the 'mound' or hill of Assur,' and should be regarded as Assyrian and not Babylonian. It has been found in an inscription of Esarhaddon. It seems to have been the Assyrian name of a region which the *Hittite* inhabitants called *Mitani*.

14 king of the city of Sephiāvaim, of Hēna, and Ivvah? And Hezekiah received the letter from the hand of the messengers, and read it: and Hezekiah went up unto the house
 15 of the LORD, and spread it before the LORD. And Hezekiah prayed unto the LORD, saying, O LORD of hosts, the God of Israel, that sittest upon the cherubim, thou art the God, even thou alone, of all the kingdoms of the earth;
 16 thou hast made heaven and earth. Incline thine ear, O LORD, and hear; open thine eyes, O LORD, and see: and hear all the words of Sennacherib, which hath sent to re-
 17 proach the living God. Of a truth, LORD, the kings of Assyria have laid waste all the countries, and their land,
 18 and have cast their gods into the fire: for they were no gods, but the work of men's hands, wood and stone;
 19 therefore they have destroyed them. Now therefore, O LORD our God, save us from his hand, that all the kingdoms of the earth may know that thou art the LORD, even thou only.
 20 Then Isaiah the son of Amoz sent unto Hezekiah, saying, Thus saith the LORD, the God of Israel, Whereas thou hast prayed to me against Sennacherib king of
 21 Assyria, this is the word which the LORD hath spoken concerning him: The virgin daughter of Zion hath despised thee and laughed thee to scorn; the daughter of
 22 Jerusalem hath shaken her head at thee. Whom hast thou reproached and blasphemed? and against whom hast thou exalted thy voice and lifted up thine eyes on

13. Hēna and Ivvah should be sought in Syria, as the geographical names in the verse indicate.

15. LXX omit this verse except the word **saying**.

Verses 22-29, introduced by the formula 'this is the word which Yahweh uttered concerning him' (i.e. Sennacherib, referred to in verse 21), are a taunt-song in the elegiac measure described above in notes to chap. xiii.

high? even against the Holy One of Israel. By thy 24 servants hast thou reproached the Lord, and hast said, With the multitude of my chariots am I come up to the height of the mountains, to the innermost parts of Lebanon; and I will cut down the tall cedars thereof, and the choice fir-trees thereof: and I will enter into his farthest height, the forest of his fruitful field. I have 25 digged and drunk water, and with the sole of my feet will I dry up all the rivers of Egypt. Hast thou not heard 26 how I have done it long ago, and formed it of ancient times? now have I brought it to pass, that thou shouldest be to lay waste fenced cities into ruinous heaps. There- 27 fore their inhabitants were of small power, they were dismayed and confounded; they were as the grass of the field, and as the green herb, as the grass on the housetops, and as a field of corn before it be grown up. But I know 28 thy sitting down, and thy going out, and thy coming in, and thy raging against me. Because of thy raging against 29 me, and for that thine arrogance is come up into mine ears, therefore will I put my hook in thy nose, and my bridle in thy lips, and I will turn thee back by the way by which thou camest. And this shall be the sign 30

: 28. 'I will dry up with the sole of my feet the Nile streams of Egypt' (Māṣōr) can only refer to an invasion of Egypt by Sennacherib. This, however, never took place during Sennacherib's reign, but in that of his successors. We appear to have here the same confusion between earlier and later history as marks the introduction of Tirhaqah's name at the beginning of this record (Is.²) in verse 9. The expression 'Nile-streams of Māṣōr' (Egypt) occurs in xix. 6. This and some other words and phrases are strange to Isaiah's diction, and indicate that the re-daction of this poem belongs to a later time. Together with 30-32, it is interpolated here between verses 21 and 33. It is not improbable that verses 22-32 contain considerable portions of genuine Isāianic matter (so Kittel and Kuenen, *Einleitung*, § 25. 17).

unto thee : ye shall eat this year that which groweth of itself, and in the second year that which springeth of the same ; and in the third year sow ye, and reap, and plant vineyards, and eat the fruit thereof. And the remnant that is escaped of the house of Judah shall again take root downward, and bear fruit upward. For out of Jerusalem shall go forth a remnant, and out of mount Zion they that shall escape : the zeal of the LORD of hosts shall perform this. Therefore thus saith the LORD concerning the king of Assyria, He shall not come unto this city, nor shoot an arrow there, neither shall he come before it with shield, nor cast a mount against it. By the way that he came, by the same shall he return, and he shall not come unto this city, saith the LORD. For I will defend this city to save it, for mine own sake, and for my servant David's sake.

36 And the angel of the LORD went forth, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians a hundred and fourscore and five thousand : and when men arose early in the morning, behold, they were all dead corpses. So Sennacherib king of Assyria departed, and went and returned, and dwelt at Nineveh. And it came to pass, as he was worshipping in the house of Nisroch his god, that Adrammelech and Sharezer his sons smote him with the sword : and they escaped into the land of Ararat. And Esar-haddon his son reigned in his stead.

30-32 is in a different metre from the preceding—an oracle directed to Hezekiah. Probably it came from the same hand.

33 foll. seems to come most naturally after verse 21.

38. The assassination of Sennacherib by his son is attested by the Babylonian Chronicle, col. iii. 34, 35, where we read : 'In the month Tebet, 20th day, there slew Sennacherib King of Assyria his son in an insurrection' (Schrader, *KIB.*, ii. p. 280). The name Nisroch is probably due to a corruption of the name of the Assyrian *Nusku*, god of Fire (Sayce, Halévy, Tiele). Other variants to the form of the name may be found in LXX.

In those days was Hezekiah sick unto death. And **38** Isaiah the prophet the son of Amoz came to him, and said unto him, Thus saith the LORD, Set thine house in order; for thou shalt die, and not live. Then Hezekiah turned **2** his face to the wall, and prayed unto the LORD, and said, Remember now, O LORD, I beseech thee, how I have **3** walked before thee in truth and with a perfect heart, and have done that which is good in thy sight. And Hezekiah wept sore. Then came the word of the LORD to Isaiah, **4** saying, Go, and say to Hezekiah, Thus saith the LORD, **5** the God of David thy father, I have heard thy prayer, I have seen thy tears: behold, I will add unto thy days fifteen years. And I will deliver thee and this city out of **6** the hand of the king of Assyria: and I will defend this city. And this shall be the sign unto thee from the LORD, that **7** the LORD will do this thing that he hath spoken: behold, **8** I will cause the shadow on the steps, which is gone down on the dial of Ahaz with the sun, to return backward

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Narrative of Hezekiah's illness and recovery. Here again we have a continuation of the later biographical account of the prophet Isaiah (Is.²). Verses 9-20 form an addendum which has evidently been subsequently introduced by a late redactor, perhaps diaskouast, who united chaps. xxxvi-xxxix to chaps. i-xxxv. Verse 9 resembles the preface to Heb. iii and the titles to the Psalms. Here the Prayer of Hezekiah is called in our Hebrew text a *Michtābh*, which properly means anything written, e. g. a letter, Exod. xxxii. 16, xxxix. 30; Deut. x. 4; Chron. xxi. 12, xxxv. 4. We might connect this with the tradition of Hezekiah's literary activity preserved in Prov. xxv. 1. But the term is weak and colourless, and there is some probability in the ordinary view of modern critics that the word is a corruption of the ordinary Psalm title *Michtām* (Pss. xvi, lvi-hx). The origin and meaning of this word are utterly obscure. The LXX render this by στήλογραφία, which at once raises the question whether *Michtābh* may not after all have been the original form which here possesses a special literary sense.

It is very doubtful whether this term stood here in the text.

- ten steps. So the sun returned ten steps on the dial whereon it was gone down!
- 9 [R] The writing of Hezekiah king of Judah, when he had been sick, and was recovered of his sickness.
- 10 [Ps.] I said, In the noontide of my days I shall go into the gates of the grave :
I am deprived of the residue of my years.
- 11 I said, I shall not see the LORD, even the LORD in the land of the living :
I shall behold man no more with the inhabitants of the world.
- 12 Mine age is removed, and is carried away from me as a shepherd's tent :

ancient copies. The LXX render by 'prayer,' and evidently read here the Hebrew word *Tephillah* as in Hab. iii. 1; cf. titles of Pss. xvii, lxxxvi, xc, cii, &c.

10. 'I thought (*lit. said*, i. e. in my heart) I must go (= die) in the quietness of my days.' The quiet time of the day was mid-day. What is meant is the mid-term of Hezekiah's life: cf. Ps. cii. 25.

Respecting the 'gates of Hades' cf. Ps. ix. 14, cvii. 18; Job xxxviii. 17. In the Babylonian epic 'The Descent of Ishtar to Hades,' Hades is portrayed with seven encircling walls, each with a gateway, each portal with a warder. Schrader, *KIB.*, vi, First Half, pp. 80-90.

deprived: i. e., more accurately, 'punished' or 'mulcted in the residue of my years.'

11. The reading *Yahweh* in place of the duplicated 'Yah' is certainly more probable, and is supported by two MSS. (so also Duhm and Marti). The LXX translated an expanded text with Elohim (God) in place of Yahweh.

The rendering of R. V. (marg.) 'among them that have ceased to be' is based on our Hebrew text, which reads *ḥādel* (pausal form of *ḥedel*, 'cessation'). This has been supposed to be a term used to designate Sheol or Hades, where life ceases. But it is probable that we have here a transposition of consonants, and that we should read *ḥāled* (with some Heb. MSS.), **the world** (so A. V. and R. V.; also Ewald, Delitzsch, Duhm, Cheyne, &c.): cf. Ps. xl ix. 2.

12. **Render** 'dwelling' (not *age*). Similarly R. V. marg.

I have rolled up like a weaver my life; he will cut me off from the loom:

From day even to night wilt thou make an end of me.

I quieted myself until morning; as a lion, so he breaketh all my bones:

From day even to night wilt thou make an end of me.

Like a swallow or a crane, so did I chatter;

14

The Hebrew word is *dôr*, which has here the same meaning as the Arabic *dâr*¹, signifying 'house' or 'dwelling.'

Instead of *loom*, render with R. V. marg. 'thrum,' whereby the woven fabric was fastened to the loom.

From day even to night: i. e. in a brief interval. The R. V. renders the verb in Hebrew **make an end of me**. This is a possible meaning. On the other hand, Duhm and Marti follow the more usual signification of the verbal form in their rendering: 'From day to night dost thou deliver me up' [to my sad doom].

13. It is best to follow the Targum rendering, which presupposes a slight emendation of the Hebrew text: 'Until morn have I cried.' In the following clause, for **he breaketh** read 'it [i. e. the agony] breaketh,' &c.

14. The R. V. rendering **swallow . . . crane (?)** is correct. The A. V. inverts the order. The same combination meets us in Jer. viii. 7. A careful examination of the LXX text of that passage shows that the Greek translators could not understand the word rendered 'crane,' and reproduced the Hebrew in Greek characters (*agour*). Subsequent copyists corrupted this into 'swallow of the field' (*agrou* instead of *agour*), and thus added the word 'sparrows' from some other text². Klostermann, followed by Guthe, Duhm, and Marti, is therefore wanting in critical insight in supposing that the word for 'crane' (?) was omitted in the Hebrew original of the present passage that stood before the LXX, because no word for 'crane' is found in the Greek rendering. The omission is simply owing to the fact that the Hebrew word was not understood. It is needful to prefix the copula which has been dropped in our Hebrew text (if we assume that the word denotes a bird).

For **chatter** substitute the more descriptive and accurate rendering 'twitter'². The verb in the Hebrew original is that

¹ Schleusner, in his *Lexicon Vet. Test.*, suspected this long ago. Cf. Aq. and Symm.

² If the crane is the bird really meant, and its note be, as Cheyne (*SBOT.*) describes it, 'a deep, trumpet-like blast,' it is not easy to see the appropriateness of the verb 'twitter,' or perhaps 'squeak,' which

I did mourn as a dove : mine eyes fail *with looking upward* ;

O LORD, I am oppressed, be thou my surety.

15 What shall I say ? he hath both spoken unto me, and himself hath done it :

I shall go softly all my years because of the bitterness of my soul.

which is employed to represent the utterance of the necromancer in viii. 19 ; cf. also xxix. 4 (last clause). For *mourn* substitute 'moan.' The following clause is obscure. Probably it is best to leave the text unaltered, and render : 'mine eyes faintly looked on high' (where Yahweh dwells).

15 foll. have been generally regarded (e.g. by Kittel and Dillmann) as beginning another section of the song in which thanksgiving succeeds to the plaint of the sufferer. The rendering as the text stands will be :—

'What shall I speak ? since He hath said unto me, and likewise hath done it.'

This is interpreted to mean that recovery has set in; and the royal sufferer can hardly find words to express his thanksgiving. For the remainder of his years he will be enabled to live in peace and quietness, freed from anxiety or trepidation in consequence of the severe discipline through which he has passed, and the lessons of devout trust which it has taught him.

This is a possible explanation, though it must be confessed that it is obscurely expressed, and some of the words in the original are certainly strange. When we turn to the LXX we find ourselves in the presence of an entirely different Hebrew text. Accordingly, Duhm seeks to make a reconstruction of the text, and renders :—

'What shall I utter and say to Him, seeing it is He that hath done it ?'

Restless I heave to and fro all my sleeping time . . . because of my soul's bitterness.'

is undoubtedly the meaning of the Hebrew. On the other hand, it must be remembered that the identification of the Heb. 'āgūr with 'crane' by Saadia and Rashi is very doubtful (*Enc. Bibl. sub voce* 'crane': 'somewhat uncertain'). The word 'āgūr may after all be an epithet of *sîs* (*sîs*), 'swallow,' and the copula in Jer. viii. 7 be due to error, as Hitzig long ago surmised. See Giæsbrecht's instructive note in his *Commentary on Jeremiah*.

O Lord, by these things men live,
 And wholly therein is the life of my spirit :
 Wherefore recover thou me, and make me to live.
 Behold, *it was for my peace that I had great bitterness*: 17
 But thou hast in love to my soul delivered it from the
 pit of corruption ;
 For thou hast cast all my sins behind thy back.
 For the grave cannot praise thee, death cannot 18
 celebrate thee :

Here the plaint of verse 14 is sustained. The poet continues to describe his sufferings. Duhm can make nothing of the Hebrew verb rendered ‘go softly’ (or as R. V. marg., based on Ps. xlvi. 5 (Heb.), translates: ‘go in solemn procession’). He therefore makes a slight change, and reads another Hebrew verb (based on Job vii. 4). The verse thus becomes a continuation of the plaint, and leads on to the prayer for recovery in the following verse (16). But here again the text is reconstructed. Cheyne renders: ‘What shall I say, and what object against Him, when He Himself has done it ?’ and leaves considerable gaps in his translation of verses 15, 16.

16. Another most obscure and difficult verse. It is very doubtful whether the rendering given by R. V. is possible, the meaning of which is far from clear. The rendering of the LXX is based on a different Hebrew original, and, working on this foundation, Duhm endeavours to restore the text, which he renders in his earlier edition :—

‘Lord, about it my heart tells Thee (cf. Ps. xxvii. 8) :
 Quicken my spirit, let me recover, and revive me.’

In his later edition he renders: ‘Lord, therefore my heart waits on Thee.’

17. The opening of this verse is not to be found in the LXX. Certainly there are peculiarities of expression, which render the Hebrew text before us suspicious. It is doubtful in the light of the LXX, and for other reasons, whether the Hebrew original for ‘thou hast loved my soul’ (R. V. marg. and literal rendering) should be retained. A slight modification in the form yields the meaning of the LXX version: ‘Thou hast withdrawn (or held back) my soul from the pit of destruction’ (R. V. ‘corruption’). So Houbigant, Lowth, Ewald, &c.: cf. Ps. lxxviii. 50; Job xxxiii. 18.

18. For *cannot* in both clauses read ‘doth not’. Parallels to these conceptions of the condition of the dead in Sheol or Hades

- 18 They that go down into the pit cannot hope for thy truth.
- 19 The living, the living, he shall praise thee, as I do this day:
- 20 The father to the children shall make known thy truth.
- 21 The LORD is *ready* to save me:
- 22 Therefore we will sing my songs to the stringed instruments
All the days of our life in the house of the LORD.
- 23 [Is.²] Now Isaiah had said, Let them take a cake of figs, and lay it for a plaister upon the boil, and he shall recover. Hezekiah also had said, What is the sign that I shall go up to the house of the LORD?
- 39 At that time Merodach-baladan the son of Baladan, king of Babylon, sent letters and a present to Hezekiah: for he heard that he had been sick, and was recovered. And Hezekiah was glad of them, and shewed them the house of his precious things, the silver, and the gold, and the spices, and the precious oil, and all the house of his armour, and all that was found in his treasures: there was nothing in his house, nor in all his dominion, that Hezekiah shewed them not. Then came Isaiah the prophet unto king Hezekiah, and said unto him, What said these men? and

may be found in Ps. vi. 5 (6 Heb.), xxx. 9 (10 Heb.), lxxxviii. 11, 12, cxv. 17.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

This is a continuation of the same biographical narrative as that of the preceding chapter. (Is.²) Respecting Merodach-Baladan and his embassy, see Introduction, pp. 29, 30. The date may accordingly be fixed for the year 704 B. C. It is scarcely probable that during Sargon's reign, when Merodach-Baladan was reigning in Babylon, 721 to 710 B. C., Hezekiah would have ventured to receive an embassy from the persistent foe of Assyria. There are strong reasons for rejecting Winckler's theory that this embassy took place in 719 B. C. (see Introd.; p. 30 foot-note).

from whence came they unto thee? And Hezekiah said, They are come from a far country unto me, even from Babylon. Then said he, What have they seen in thine house? And Hezekiah answered, All that is in mine house have they seen: there is nothing among my treasures that I have not shewed them. Then said Isaiah to Hezekiah, Hear the word of the LORD of hosts. Behold, the days come, that all that is in thine house, and that which thy fathers have laid up in store until this day, shall be carried to Babylon: nothing shall be left, saith the LORD. And of thy sons that shall issue from thee, which thou shalt beget, shall they take away; and they shall be eunuchs in the palace of the king of Babylon. Then said Hezekiah unto Isaiah, Good is the word of the LORD which thou hast spoken. He said moreover, For there shall be peace and truth in my days.

EXCURSUS

Extract from the Prism-Inscription (Taylor cylinder) of Sennacherib, narrating his Palestinian campaign (701 B.C.).

(Col. ii. 34—col. iii. 41 in Bezold's revised text in Schrader, *KIB.*, ii. pp. 90 föll.)

(Col. iii. 34) In my third campaign I marched to the land Hatti (Hittite) (35) Luli (Elulaeus), king of Sidon, the terror (inspired by) the splendour (36) of my rule had overwhelmed; far away (37) amid the sea he fled, and his land I subjugated, (38) Ṣidōn the great, and Sidon the less, (39) Bēt-zitti, Sarepta, Maḥalliba, (40) Ushū, Akzibi (Ekkippa), Akko, (41) his strong towns, the fortresses, spots of pasturage (42) and of watering, his garrison-towns, the power of the weapons (43) of Ashur; my lord, overwhelmed. They subjected themselves (44) to my feet. Tuba'lu (Ethba'al) I placed on the royal throne (*lit.* throne of royalty) (45) over them, and imposed upon him payment of (46) yearly unceasing tribute of my supremacy. (47) Minhimmu (Menahem) of Samsimuruna, (48) Tuba'lu (Ethba'al) of Sidon, (49) Abdili'ti of Arvad (Arados), (50) Urumilk (Jerumelech?) of Gebal (Byblus), (51) Mitinti of Ashdod, (52) Buduilu of Bēth-Ammon, (53) Kam-musunadab (Chemoshnadab) of Moab, (54) Malikrammu (Malchiram) of Edom, (55) all kings of Martu (the Western country), (56) brought large gifts, rich products as well as possessions, (57) into my presence, and kissed my feet¹. (58) But as for Sidkā, king of Ashkelon, (59) who had not submitted himself to my yoke, the gods of his ancestral house (*lit.* of the house of his father), himself, (60) his wife, his sons, his brothers, the seed (posteriority) of his ancestral house, (61) I carried off and brought to Assyria; (62) Sharruludāri, son of Rukibti, their former king, (63) I set over the inhabitants of Ashkelon, the payment of the tribute (64) of subjection I appointed, imposed (?) my yoke. (65) In the onward advance of my campaign I besieged, captured, and plundered of their booty Bēth Dagon, (66) Joppa, Benē-barķa (Benē-barak), Azuru, (67) towns of Sidkā which had not speedily (68) subjected themselves to my feet. (69) The rulers, the chief men, and the [other] inhabitants of Amkarruna (Ekrou) (70) who had cast Padi (who according to law and covenant with Assyria (71) was their king) into iron chains, and had delivered him up (72) to Hezekiah of Judah with hostile purpose. He bound him in prison. (73) Their heart feared. The kings of the land Mušri (Muşri)

¹ The usual token of homage from the representative of a subject state to his overlord : cf. Ps. ii. 12.

summoned (74) archers, chariots, the steeds of the king of Meluhhi, (75) an innumerable host, and came (76) to their aid. Before Alta'ku (Eltekeh) (77) the battle array was set confronting me, they raised (?) (78) their weapons. In reliance upon Ashur, my lord, with them (79) I fought and brought about their defeat. (80) The commander of chariots and the sons of the king of (the land) Mušri, (81) as well as the commander of chariots of the king of (the land) Meluhhi alive, (82) in the midst of the battle, my hand captured. Alta'ku (83) (and) Tamnâ (Timnath) I besieged, captured, and carried off their booty.

(Col. iii. 1) I advanced to Amkarruna (Ekron), the rulers, (2) the chief men who had incurred sin (i. e. revolted), I slew. (3) On poles (? pillars) around the town I hung (bound) their corpses. (4) The inhabitants of the town who had practised evil deeds and outrages (5) I reckoned as prisoners of war (spoil); as for the remainder of them (6) who had not instigated (?) sin or misdeed, (7) who had not committed their trespasses, their pardon I proclaimed. Padi (8) their king I brought forth from [the midst of] Jerusalem, (9), (and) placed (him) on the throne of rule over them. (10) The tribute of my rule (11) I imposed on him. And as for Hezekiah (12) the Jew, who had not submitted himself to my yoke, (13) forty-six strong towns, fortresses, and smaller towns (14) in their circuit which are innumerable, (15) by destruction through battering-rams and advancing of siege-engines, (16) assault . . . (17) I besieged, I captured; 200,150 men, young (and) old, male (and) female, (18) horses, mules, asses, oxen, (19) and flocks without number I brought forth from their midst (20) I reckoned as spoil. Himself like a bird in a cage in the midst of Jerusalem, (21) his royal town, I shut, ramparts around him (22) I drew; those who came forth from the gateway of his town I caused to return. (23) His towns which I had plundered (24) I separated from his land and gave it to Mitinti king of Ashdod, (25) Padi king of Amkarruna (Ekron), and Sil-Bel (26), king of Haziti (Gaza), (and so) diminished his land. (27) To their former tribute, their yearly gift, (28) the payment due to my rule I added (29) (and) imposed it upon them. Hezekiah himself (30) the dread of the splendour of my rule overpowered. (31) The Urbi (Arabians) and his faithful soldiers (32) which he had introduced to strengthen (defend) Jerusalem, his royal town (?), (33) laid down their arms. (34) Along with thirty talents of gold, 800 talents of silver, precious stones (35) of value, large lapis-lazuli stones, (36) ivory couches, ivory seats made of elephant-hide, (37) ivory . . . wood, urkarinu wood, all kinds of valuable treasure (38), and his daughters, his palace-wives, male and (39) female attendants (?), I caused to be brought after me into Nineveh my royal town; (40) and he sent his (mounted) envoy to present tribute (41) and render homage.

ADDENDUM

Pp. 17-19. The present writer is unable to follow recent critics from Nowack (1880) to Harper (1905) in abandoning the tradition contained in the superscription to Hosea's oracles, and in making 735 the *terminus ad quem* of Hosea's prophetic activity. Far too much has been made of the absence of express allusion to the Syro-Ephraimite War. On the other hand, the clear references to Assyria and to the utter social disorganization of the northern kingdom, to which numerous passages allude, point to a period subsequent to rather than before the Assyrian invasion in 734-a. Chap. vi. 1, 2, 8-9; vii. 9 (foreigners have devoured his strength); viii. 4 (presupposing an interval of several reigns since the end of the dynasty of Jehu); ix. 15; xii. 12 (altars in Gilgal transformed into ruined stone-heaps) are best explained when Tiglath-Pileser's campaign is placed in retrospect. Winckler, *KAT.*³, p. 264, thinks that it is owing to this invasion and dismemberment of the northern kingdom that Hosea hardly ever speaks of Israel but of *Ephraim*.

Pp. 20-24. Among the O. T. data for placing the beginning of Hezekiah's reign before the capture of Samaria must be included the significant passage Jer. xxvi. 18 f., which cannot be so summarily dismissed from consideration as Cornill (Introd. to the O. T. under the section devoted to Micah) is disposed to insist. That the name of Hezekiah should displace that of Ahaz for the years 726-715 is easily explicable when the atmosphere of religious legalism is duly considered from which men and policies were estimated after 622 B. C.

P. 88 ad fin. p. 183. It is impossible in this work to explain Hebrew poetic metre based on special accentual stress on certain syllables. The English student of Hebrew is referred to Harper's recently-published commentary on Amos and Hosea, Introd. pp. clxvi-clxviii, and on the *Kinah* metre, p. 109. Comp. also *Enc. Bibl.* under 'Poetical Literature,' col. 3,802 foll.

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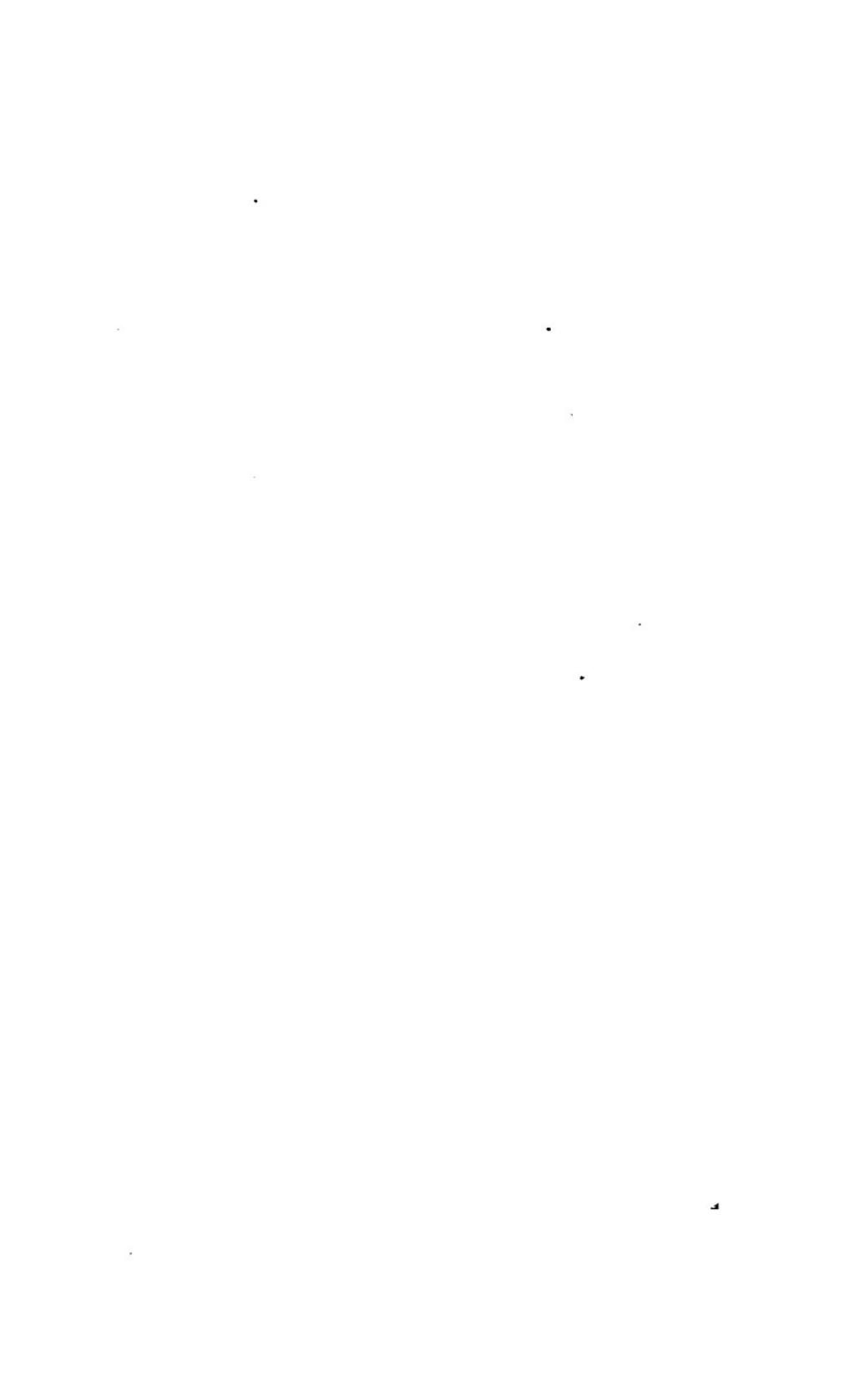
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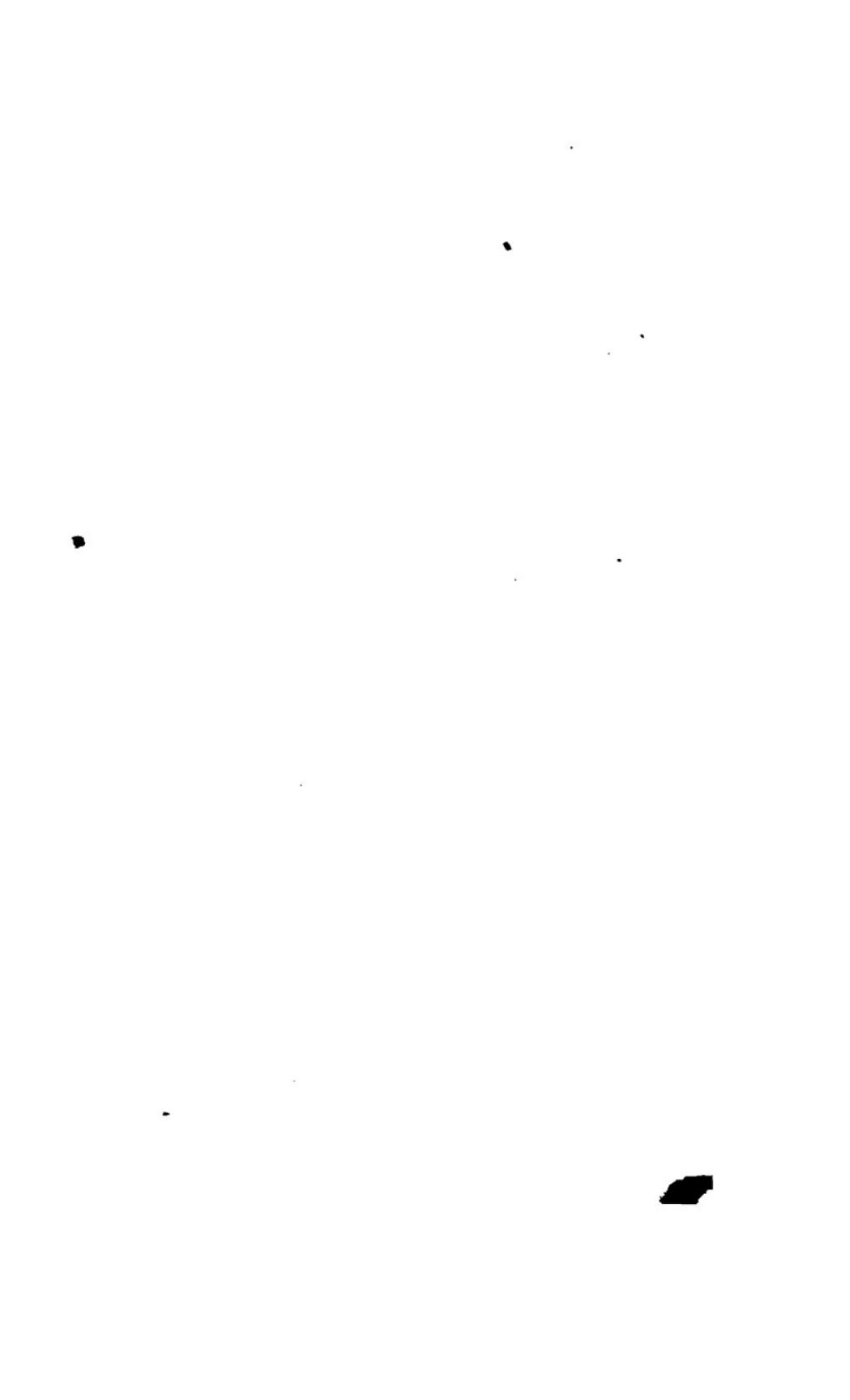
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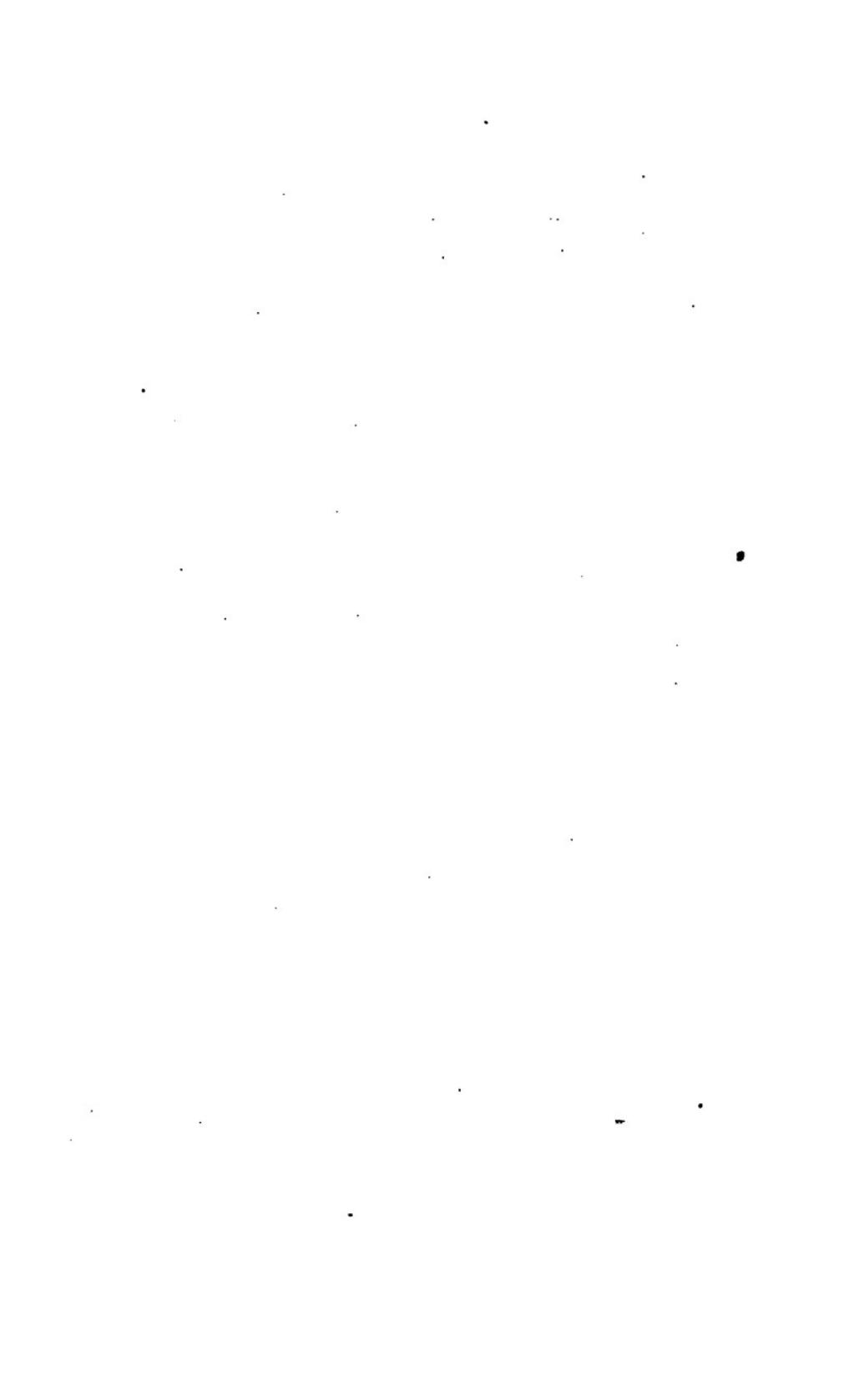
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